THE LIFE OF SAINT PAUL

The Man and the Apostle

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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THE LIFE OF
SAINT PAUL
The Man and the Apostle

BY

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To
MY WIFE

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PREFACE

THE object of this sketch is to present Paul in the light of the known facts and circumstances of his age, in order to estimate the extent of his labours and the significance of his teaching. With this end in view, I have taken his Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles as they stand, as the only historical evidences available, and have endeavoured to interpret the mind of the age in which Paul lived and worked. I am naturally aware of the grave historical and critical difficulties which these documents present, having already dealt with them in the *Beginnings of Christianity*, which I edited in coöperation with Dr. Lake. This work was designed to present the problem to scholars and to show how much remains to be done to ascertain and determine the truth: and I think we have fully recognized the labours of the great investigators of the continent of Europe, Great Britain and America, to elucidate the difficult problem. In the present volume, however, I am endeavouring to give the unprofessional public my own views, in the hope of interesting them in what Paul and his companions believed and effected. For this reason I have deliberately refused to discuss many things of interest to-day, notably Paul's relation to the mystery religions of the world of his age.

I have also frankly admitted the uselessness of attempting to conjecture what happened during the long periods in the life of Paul of which nothing is related. When his conversion occurred we do not know, probably between A.D. 32 and 37. Of the years between that event and his first missionary journey with Barnabas we are told very little. We have no

information as to what happened during his imprisonment for two years at Cæsarea, or during his two years' sojourn at Rome. We know nothing of the missionary work in Syria and Cilicia of which he speaks in the Epistle to the Galatians. He may before the conclusion of his life in Acts have been a Christian for thirty years, and we have little detailed information as to his activities for about a fourth of that period. As to his later years we have nothing to guide us but tradition, which, however, maintains that Paul was put to death by Roman law, and gives no hint that the Jews, his persistent enemies in Acts, were accessories; a fact, I venture to suggest, not yet fully appreciated.

This account of the career of St. Paul does not pretend to be more than an attempt to give the reader my personal view of one of the most remarkable men in the history of mankind. The natural tendency has been to judge the Apostle by his effect on successive generations, whether by the inspiration they received from his teaching, by the use they made of his writings, or even by the errors into which they have fallen by misapprehending his real meaning. For Paul is so great a man that to this day he provokes the keenest discussion as to his true position. To some he appears to stand to Jesus as the prophet does to God; to others, on the contrary, Jesus gave mankind a simple and beautiful message, which Paul perversely misinterpreted. Some recognize in Paul the true exponent of Protestantism, others of sacramental Catholicism. He is claimed as the liberator of mankind from legalism, and as the enslaver of the human mind to dogma. To Marcion in the second century he was the true Gnostic who freed mankind from the harsh conception of the

God in the Old Testament; to Augustine, in the fifth, the champion who fought for the supremacy of Divine Grace against the will of man; to Luther he liberated Christians from reliance on works of merit, and taught them to trust in Christ alone; to Calvin, he made men realize the absolute supremacy and foreknowledge of God. The older evangelicals laid, perhaps, excessive stress on his scheme of salvation, in the present day the tendency is to neglect Paul or to set him in opposition to a purely imaginary liberalized and unhistorical Jesus.

Undoubtedly the best British contributions to the understanding of St. Paul have been on the practical side in explaining the geography of the world in which he lived, and the roads and seas on which he travelled. James Smith of Jordanhill, Conybeare and Howson, Lewin and above all, Sir William Ramsay, have done yeoman service in this direction; but I have omitted this aspect of the Apostle's career, because I have tried to describe what he did, rather than what he saw; and besides, my studies have not been in this direction. I have consulted but few in the composition of this work. When it was practically finished, my friend and colleague, Professor James Everett Frame, read it with great care, subjected it to searching criticism, and discussed it with me for long hours with a brotherly kindness and sympathy which I can never forget.

I cannot hope that all will approve or agree with my views of the Apostle Paul, but if I can stimulate interest in him among any of my readers, I shall be more than satisfied.

INTRODUCTION

THERE are certain men, few indeed in number, whom no historian and no student of human nature can possibly ignore. One of these is Paul the Apostle. But this scarcely justifies another attempt to write his life. It is doubtful whether any person has ever been the subject of more searching examination and fuller discussion. Were a writer to commence his work with a bibliography which approached completeness, he would spend a long life in compiling it, with the result that his labours would be represented, not by a book, but by a large encyclopedia. How then can any one presume to add another sketch of Paul's life, his opinions, and his influence on human thought? It is vain to hope that fresh material can be contributed to add to our available knowledge of the subject, or that anything can be suggested which has the merit of originality. Every word Paul wrote, every act of his life, has been subjected to most searching criticism, and every conceivable theory has been advanced concerning him, and the only excuse a writer can offer is that he cherishes a hope that his book may reach a wider public than is interested in technical or learned works on theological subjects.

His object is therefore to endeavour to make his readers aware of the intense human interest in the career and character of one of the most remarkable personalities in history, to show that St. Paul was not simply a saint, interesting only to pietists, not a thinker, who appeals only to theologians, nor a writer of formal 'epistles,' suitable to be read in church or as an exercise of devotion, but otherwise a trifle dull and

mostly unintelligible. On the contrary one's endeavour must be to show that he was an exceptionally gifted man, full of enthusiasms and great ideas; that his life abounded in wonderful experiences; and that so far from being a formal writer of theological treatises under the dignified name of epistles, he was the author of letters full of humanity, friendship and affection for his correspondents.

But above all Paul was a religious guide of extraordinary power, a man who had exceptional experiences, and the gift of using them for the benefit of the world. This is one of the most attractive features in his letters. He can take a problem which troubles his correspondents, deal with it with a marked display of sound common sense, and suddenly raise the whole question to a higher level, and give mankind for all time a passage like his description of charity in 1 Corinthians xiii.

It is this amazing versatility which makes him so difficult to be understood by good but dull people, who form the majority of commentators. Their object is to make his writing into a *Summa* of theology. The devout discover in Paul a scheme of salvation, clear cut and systematically formulated. Thus he becomes an oracle to those who rejoice in the dogmatic definition of creeds, to those who see the essence of Christianity in church order, to those who desire a weapon against the ecclesiasticism of their time. And for this reason Paul is made an excuse for the strangest perversions of Christianity. On the other hand unfriendly critics are never tired of pointing out that the Apostle is inconsistent, that he says one thing in one passage and takes it back in another, that he is not worthy of serious

consideration because his views appear to change according to the occasion on which he enunciates them.

This charge of lack of consistency is a delight to men of limited intelligence, who desire some one whom they can understand, and will always say exactly what they expect of him. As they cannot find such a man in Paul, his utterances often appear to them to be illogical. But this is not because he is really inconsistent, for no one held to great principles more consistently, but because of his exceptional breadth of view, and his power of seeing that there is more than one side to every question. After all, the Epistles taken together would make but a tiny book, many were written in days of much sorrow and anxiety, the language often revealing how deeply the writer's feelings were stirred. Paul writes, not as a literary artist who carefully polished every period, but as a man who found words at times inadequate to express the great thoughts which occupied his mind.

This makes Paul so intensely interesting. To understand him as a writer we must go below the surface to discover the man. And with the materials at our disposal it would be no easy task to estimate the character even of an ordinary individual, which Paul emphatically was not. He was a genius, with all the curious contradictions which made such a character. He cannot be standardized and dismissed. It is only by sympathetic study that we are able even to arrive at an idea of him as he actually was. Both those who admire and those who would disparage St. Paul are in agreement on this one point, that he changed the course of Christianity by compelling the Church for ages to come to accept his views, which were not those of the

original believers, or, if they were, only found lasting expression in him. He found the Church a small Jewish community with crude Messianic conceptions; he left it a world organization in which there was neither Jew nor Gentile. He sublimated the simple faith and hope in Jesus as the Messiah of Judaism into a worship of Him as the Son of God, in whom dwelt the fullness of Godhead. He made faith in this doctrine of Jesus the keynote of Christianity, the only means of man's attaining liberty and salvation. He emphasized the sublime view of the redemptive power of Christ's death upon the cross. He sowed the seed from whence sprang the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

Whether he made or marred the religion of Jesus is debated. That St. Paul has powerfully influenced Christianity is certain; but it is very difficult to say exactly how far he differed in his view of the work, character, and resurrection of Jesus from those of his predecessors. It is also a moot point whether the work and teaching of Paul changed the Christian Church during his lifetime, or whether his influence began to be felt after his death.

In approaching the first problem it must be borne in mind that, though from the first there were many missionaries of the Gospel in all parts of the world, no authentic record has survived of any of their labours except the early ones of Peter, and those of Paul. Christianity must have reached Rome early in the missionary career of St. Paul. That the Church of Antioch had begun to send out men to preach the Gospel before his recorded labours had begun, that churches were established in Asia Minor and Syria by other apostles, and that Paul was continually being

denounced by rival propagators of the Faith, are assured facts; but as regards the question of St. Paul's subsequent influence, it is not possible to form an estimate of his labours without extending our inquiry far beyond his earthly career; but even the immensity of the subject ought not to deter an author of even a brief description of him from some discussion of the far-reaching effects of his teaching.

Here, however, any one who attempts to invite his readers to consider the career of the great Apostle, should plainly declare his own individual opinion as to the relation of Paul to Jesus. It has been maintained and widely held that Paul, not Jesus, was the real founder of Christianity. From this view I entirely dissent. Of the life of St. Paul we know more from contemporary authorities than we do of that of Jesus. It is not by any means certain how long the ministry of Jesus lasted, possibly only a few months: Paul's known labours extended over many years. The sayings of Jesus are recorded years after His ministry in the form we now have them; whilst we have at least some letters of Paul, which hardly any critic has ventured to deny are genuine documents. Yet it cannot be denied that the sayings of Jesus, as we now have them, preserved in the Gospels, at whatever date they appeared, bear the stamp of originality. Apart from all theological or dogmatic considerations they must be the utterance of a man of unique character. Their beauty, their simplicity, their directness, the profound insight they display, are something apart by themselves; and, however such a discourse as the Sermon on the Mount was *reduced to its present form, there is nothing* written by St. Paul comparable to it. Nor is this all;

the theologians have turned to Paul, but the highest Christian acts of self-denial and heroism have been performed under the inspiration of Christ. To this day the opponents of the Christian Churches have no better weapon than the charge that modern Christianity does not act in harmony with the teaching of its Founder. All would agree that His example, whether we live up to it or not, is the standard of our religion, and no Christian from his time to our own would be more ready to endorse this than Paul himself. Without Paul, Christianity might have been different: without Jesus Christ, impossible.

The study of the world in which Paul lived is necessary to understand him. Without some acquaintance with the thought of the age much of his writing is unintelligible. It is of the utmost importance to remember that Paul was a Jew, and to have an idea of the character of first century Judaism and its habits of thought. He was able to accomplish his work because he was a Roman citizen, the meaning of which must be made clear. That any one could travel so widely on a missionary enterprise, implies a world under good government; and it is advisable to study the administration of the provinces of the Roman Empire. Paul had to defend himself against the accusations of the Jews, whose object was to make him out an offender against the Roman law, which also must be understood to make much of the story of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles intelligible. His converts also in the churches to which he wrote were very different: Romans at Philippi, a mixed population at Thessalonica, educated Greeks at Athens, commercial Greeks at Corinth, each one of whom needs separate consideration.

This variety makes the life of Paul of special interest, and when one remembers that the thought of the time has also to be considered, the vastness of the subject is almost overwhelming. Yet despite the great range of knowledge needful, it has to be realized that the amount of direct evidence is indeed small.

It is of very little use to read about Paul unless constant reference is made to the sources for his life. These are open to all, as they are to be found in a small part of the New Testament, which always should be at hand during the reading of any book about St. Paul. Continuous reading of the Bible as a Christian duty has gone out of fashion, and it is highly desirable that an intelligent study of Scripture should take its place.

Every one, therefore, who wants to learn about St. Paul should take his Bible as his source book, and try to make out his own story from it. It may appear wearisome, and at first almost purposeless, but as an advance is made it will prove increasingly interesting, and no one who finishes the task will regret undertaking it. All the epistles which bear the name of Paul, except that to the Hebrews, were received at a very early date as genuine letters by him. In comparatively modern times questions have been raised as to some of them; but so far as I know, only one responsible critic has thrown any doubt on four epistles—Romans, I and II Corinthians and Galatians. Speaking generally, though the genuineness of I and II Thessalonians, Philippians, Ephesians and Colossians, has been questioned, these may be accepted as coming from the Apostle. More serious doubts have been raised about the so-called Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and no one acquainted with their style can

unhesitatingly pronounce them to be Pauline, though the matter is not by any means finally decided. These letters date from the very last years of Paul's life, and therefore are not important as affecting the years of his active ministry. The brief note to Philemon, for it can hardly be called a letter, is important as illustrating the character of Paul and his relation to slavery. It is, at least to me, inconceivable that any one should have fabricated it: short as it is, it is an invaluable document.

From these letters it is necessary to gather all personal details which are introduced. The most important of these are to be found in Galatians, Philippians, and II Corinthians. Then the student should look for any notices that reveal the personal traits of the Apostle, his prayerfulness, his sympathy, his capacity of friendship, his practical good sense, his natural politeness and the like, some important, some trifling, but all significant as revealing what manner of man he really was. Next comes the more arduous task of finding out what Paul believed and taught on such great doctrines of Christianity as the nature of God, the relation of Christ to the Father, and the resurrection. Some trouble undoubtedly is demanded, but the amount of matter to be read is very small. Excluding the 'Pastoral Epistles' the entire correspondence of St. Paul covers about a hundred and ten pages of Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, averaging roughly thirty-five lines to a page, or less than forty thousand words, which makes a very small modern book. Anyone, who even attempts to do as I suggest by reading what St. Paul has to say, will learn more than if he read a whole library about him.

Of less value, but of immense importance, is the

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LIBRARY

Acts of the Apostles. Of its twenty-eight chapters, the parts devoted to St. Paul are vii. 58 – viii. 3, his share in the death of Stephen and as a persecutor; ix. 1-31, his conversion and what followed; and xiii.-xxviii. his missionary journeys, the accusations brought against him by the Jews, his defence before the Roman authorities, his shipwreck and his arrival at Rome where he stayed for two years. The belief generally accepted by the early Church and by no means rejected by competent scholars to this day is that the author of Acts was Luke, a companion of the Apostle in his later days. But, whoever may be the author of Acts, the book contains some material of first rate authority for a life of Paul. Here and there are to be found passages written in the first person plural and it is generally agreed that the writer of them was actually with the Apostle at the time. The 'We sections' as they are commonly called (Acts xvi. 10-18, xx. 6 – xxi. 26, xxvii. 1 – xxviii. 16) reveal that the author was with St. Paul when he visited Philippi, that he rejoined him in the same neighbourhood some three years later, accompanied him to Jerusalem, witnessed his arrest there, was probably his companion whilst he was imprisoned at Cæsarea, and certainly was with him on his voyage to Rome. These 'We sections' take rank with the Epistles as contemporary evidence.

Only second to this are the chapters which give us the itinerary of St. Paul on his three missionary journeys, the only reason why they are not of such importance as the 'We sections' being that they are not all written by an eye-witness. Nevertheless they are of absorbing interest, not only on account of the valuable information they display, and the vigour with which some

scenes are described, notably the tumult in the theatre at Ephesus, but because of the light thrown on the condition of the Roman world of the age.

There remain the Conversion of St. Paul (Acts ix), and the speeches put into his mouth. The account of what happened at this crisis of his life differs in some of the details from what St. Paul wrote in the Epistle to the Galatians, a discrepancy which will need fuller consideration hereafter.

The speeches put into the mouth of St. Paul are naturally less important than his own writings. In the first place the narrator can hardly have heard many himself, and, in the second, it was so usual for an ancient historian to assign set speeches to his characters that it is not impossible that the writer of Acts did the same. If so, the interest in the speeches lies in their illustrating an early estimate of the Apostle's mode of teaching. Some of them do, however, seem to be echoes of what is read in the Epistles.

Considering his astonishing personality and the extent of his labours, Paul occupies but a small place in Christian tradition. Even the story of his preaching and beheadal at Rome is embellished by few details. In Clement's letter, so called, written from the Church of Rome to that of Corinth, he is said to have gone to the 'boundary of the West': a later story sent him to evangelize Britain. There are also apocryphal Acts of Paul, the most ancient and interesting being the tale of Paul and Thecla.

The situation of the churches dedicated to the two founders of the Church of Rome is in itself a parable. Both are outside the city walls, that of St. Peter's on the Vatican hill where the gardens of Nero were. It

became, though never the cathedral church of the Pope, which is St. John Lateran, the centre of Roman piety. The church of St. Peter was the scene of the imperial coronations, and for five centuries the palace of the Vatican has been the chief residence of the Popes. St. Paul's on the Ostian Way stands on a site where hardly any man dwells. It is as though the Apostle of the Gentiles was represented as a solitary figure, imperfectly understood, and therefore somewhat remote. A New Testament writer says his epistles contain much that is hard to comprehend (II Peter iii. 16), and it may be that, after all the labour bestowed on him and his writings, mankind has not yet learned fully to appreciate St. Paul.

THE LIFE OF SAINT PAUL

1

THE JEWISH WORLD

PAUL was a Jew, who has won fame as the Apostle of the Gentiles. He belonged therefore to two worlds; as a Jew he was a member of the chosen people, and as a Roman citizen, one of the nation which ruled the civilized world. In his day the Jews and the Gentiles lived side by side, refusing to intermingle, the one looking to Jerusalem as the future religious capital of mankind, the other to Rome, the head and fount of empire. Before speaking of the Apostle himself it is desirable to form some idea of the Jewish and Gentile world in which he was to play his part.

There are few more misleading names than the word 'Jew.' The history of the chosen people before the exile is not the History of the Jews, though this is the title of many books on the subject. It is absurd to say that Moses led the Jews out of Egypt, or gave the Law from Mount Sinai to the Jews. For Jew means properly a member of the tribe of Judah. Even the inhabitants of Jerusalem did not live entirely in the Jews' country for half the city was in the tribe of Benjamin. Neither Barnabas nor Paul was strictly speaking a Jew; and where Paul describes himself accurately he says he was 'circumcised on the eighth day, of the race of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew-speaking man of Hebrew-speaking parents, in my attitude to the Law a Pharisee, proving my zeal by persecuting the Church' (Phil. iii. 5-6). In the Psalms the people are Israelites, and even when Judaism is mentioned it is as a parallel to Israel. 'God is known in Judah: His name is great

in Israel," (Ps. LXXVI. 1). In the prayer book of the Synagogue the people are not Judah, but Israel. Regarded as a nation Jew was the generic name; but the religion was that of Israel. Till the Captivity Judah always meant a single tribe; and, except under David and Solomon, by no means the most important in the Israelite confederacy. At the return the majority belonged to Judah, and were generally known as Jews (Judahites, Judæi, Jews), and their peculiar religion was popularly called Judaism, though never correctly so. However, as Judaism after the Captivity is not identical with the ancient faith of Israel, the term may conveniently be adopted.

The ancient religion as it appears in the Old Testament was in its highest or prophetic aspect the worship of the God of Israel Who stood preëminently for righteousness. When the nation served Him faithfully it prospered, when it was in distress its apostasy was being justly punished. It was, like most early religions, national or tribal rather than personal in the sense that the guilt, and not simply the punishment, was incurred not only by the individual but by the community. Hence the prophets as a rule address Israel as a people. In its lower aspect the religion of Israel was the performance of rites and ceremonies in accordance with custom or tradition; and it was expected that by these God would be appeased, and continue to protect His own People. The priests were the custodians of the worship, because as a caste they knew the right way of performing it. Against this mechanical conception of duty to God the Israelite prophets raised a constant protest.

After the fall of Jerusalem during the Captivity in

Babylon a twofold change took place. The prophet Ezekiel laid stress on personal religion. A man was not hated by God because his father was bad, or loved because he was good. It depended on himself. God would befriend him if he turned from his father's evil way, and would not help him if he proved an unrighteous son of a righteous father (Ezek. xviii. 1-32). This seems obvious to us, but it was a great advance on the popular religion of antiquity. The second development towards Judaism as contrasted with the old religion was that its laws were promulgated in writing, instead of being entrusted to the memory of a priestly order.

Thus Judaism became a literary religion. Its Law was studied with avidity, and as much of it was primitive and sanctioned the customs of remote antiquity, it needed constant interpretation. The scribe became more important than the sacrificing priest, and a tradition as to how the Law should be observed arose and was perpetuated by what were later known as 'The Men of the Great Synagogue.'[1]

The returned exiles, like the modern Zionists, were not the prosperous Jews who lived in the Babylonian, and later in the Persian empire, but devoted men who had sacrificed their worldly prospects to settle in and about Jerusalem. After Ezra and Nehemiah disappear, hardly anything is known about the community till the beginning of the second century B.C., if we except the story of Alexander the Great's visit to Jerusalem. During this obscure period Jerusalem was virtually under the rule of the High Priest and the Temple

[1] These were a succession of teachers from the time of Ezra onwards. See C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*.

worship was conducted with great beauty and reverence. Music played an important part, the Psalter was in in process of growth, as we see from the books of Chronicles, which belong to this period; and we have two descriptions of the sumptuousness of the Temple services; one in the book of Ecclesiasticus (L. 1-21), which gives a picture of it in the days of Simon the High Priest; the other in the probably spurious letter to Aristeas, a courtier of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt (287-240), which is nevertheless a valuable document for its description of ancient Jerusalem.

As, however, the priesthood became a wealthy aristocracy its religious fervour sensibly cooled. The High Priesthood was sought by every means, violence, intrigue or bribery. The story of the family of Onias in the *Antiquities* of Josephus (bk. xii) gives a dreadful picture of the corruption of the age. We see a young and ambitious Jew buying the right to collect the revenue of Syria from the kings of Egypt, exacting it in relentless severity, amassing a vast fortune and establishing himself in a strong castle from which he makes predatory expeditions. We find candidates for the High Priesthood perfectly ready to abandon the Law for the worship of the Greeks. Heathen games are performed in Jerusalem and the young priests eagerly take part in them, and the total abandonment of the God of Israel appears to be inevitable (II Macc. iv. 7-14).

What saved Judaism was persecution; Antiochus Epiphanes King of Syria, a madman of genius, resolved to make all his subjects Hellenists, and forced all the Jews as individuals to apostatize. In this crisis it became evident that the strength of Judaism was not in a privileged priesthood but in the people. Martyrdom

was endured with astonishing courage, the women were foremost in their zeal of the Law (I Macc. i. 41-64; II Macc. vi-vii). At last an aged man of the lower class of priests raised the standard of revolt. Mattathias of Modin and his heroic sons gathered a small company and defeated the Syrian Greeks and the apostate Jews; and, by skilfully utilizing the factions of the rival pretenders of the Kingdom of Syria, became, first a force which had to be conciliated, and gradually the heads of an independent nation. The Maccabees or Hasmoneans, as they are called indifferently, became priestly rulers and later priest-kings of Judæa. Their success is a proof of the intense love for the Law among a people who, despite the corruption of their official leaders, must have been carefully instructed in its principles for generations.

Judaism entered upon a new phase. Persecution had made the people other-worldly. Their sufferings taught them no longer to look for earthly prosperity as the reward of piety. On the contrary they perceived that piety meant suffering in this world, and their hopes turned to reward in a world to come. Those who had died for the Law would rise again, a deliverer would appear as the prophets had foretold. God would anoint him as a Messiah to save his People; the Gentiles would be destroyed and here, on earth or elsewhere, Israel would triumph. In other words the new Judaism was characterized by its intense hatred of the Gentiles, a belief in a resurrection from the dead, and a hope of future glory under a king raised up and anointed by God.[1]

[1] *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 128ff. Yet St. Paul hardly even alludes to the apocalyptic parts of the Old Testament. Only once, in II Thess. ii. 4, does he quote Daniel.

Religious parties naturally arose. In the Maccabean struggle a sect called the Assidæans appear, of whom nothing is known, except that they deserted Judas the Maccabee when the Syrian government gave the Jews a High Priest named Alcimus. This meant that so long as their religion was menaced they would fight for it, but they desired no worldly dominion for Israel or its leaders. The Law was all they cared for; and, if they were allowed to practise it in peace, they were indifferent as to the form of government under which they lived. In other words they dissociated religion from all worldly ambitions.[1]

When the priestly kingdom was on the way to being established by John Hyrcanus, the nephew of Judas and the son of his brother and successor Simon, the Pharisees made their appearance. One of them, named Eleazar, bluntly told Hyrcanus that he ought not to be at once High Priest and the secular ruler, and alleged falsely that as his mother had once been a slave, Hyrcanus was not legally High Priest. As the Pharisees refused to impose an adequate punishment for this insult, Hyrcanus turned to the rival sect of the Sadducees (Joseph. *Antiq.* Bk. XIII x. 5-6).

Thus the Pharisees became committed to a policy similar to that of the old Assidæans. They stood for religion as the first, and political nationalism as a secondary consideration. The fulfilment of the Law became their chief concern. Not that the Sadducees were not attached to the Law; they were strict legalists adhering to the letter of the Law and refusing to allow it to be expanded or relaxed by tradition. The Pharisees,

[1] *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. i, p. 87-89. *See* I Macc. ii. 42, II Macc. xiv. 6. It is impossible to speak with certainty about these 'Assidæans.' They are interesting as the first representatives of non-political Judaism.

on the other hand, strove with all their might to make the Law possible to observe. Where it was too burdensome or impossible to fulfil, they laboured to make it intelligible and workable. Tradition gave them the power of binding and loosing, that is, of insisting on some commandments, and relaxing others. At the same time they were fanatically religious, refusing all accommodations to political expediency. As judges they had the credit of being merciful; but in their insistence on the fulfilment of the Law, and on isolation from the Gentiles, they were uncompromising. They are also said to have enriched Judaism by their doctrine of a belief in a future life and in the existence of angels and spiritual beings, in opposition to the Sadducees who denied both resurrection and angels as not being a part of the Law of Moses as Israel had received it.[1]

In the end all the different Jewish sects, the ascetic Essenes and Therapeutæ, as well as the Sadducees, disappeared, and it is not too much to say that the Pharisees are the parents of the orthodox Judaism of to-day. Paul was a Pharisee and in Acts he is represented as declaring that he was a son of the Pharisees (Acts xxiii. 6). Unless this is borne in mind his character, and his interpretation of Christianity, cannot be appreciated.

The Pharisee then was the Jew to whom religion was the supreme consideration. Like all extremely religious people he had his failings as well as his merits. According to a Rabbinical utterance there were seven different species of Pharisees; and only two of these are commended. Because of certain

[1] *Beginnings*, vol. i. p. 111-114 and p. 436. See also TRAVERS HERFORD, *The Pharisees*.

words of Jesus, Christians have been disposed to include the Pharisees in one sweeping condemnation as 'hypocrites,' that is, actors playing a part for show. We must now examine the justice of this conclusion.[1]

It is not borne out by the action of our Lord towards them, taken as a whole. He certainly denounced them with unsparing severity, but so did the Rabbis denounce the pretenders to Pharisaic holiness. Still the Pharisees entertained Him at times in their houses; and after He was risen many became believers. St. Luke relates Gamaliel's intervention to save the earliest disciples; and even if the story is not historical, and in Gamaliel's speech (Acts v. 34ff.) there is a startling anachronism, the very fact that it was current proves that at a comparatively late date there was a certain good will between the Pharisees and the Jewish Christian Church. St. Paul on one occasion was supported by the sect when he declared before a hostile Sanhedrin that he was a Pharisee (Acts xxiii. 6). The Pharisees were, for all their faults, undoubtedly of some of the best representatives of Judaism: men who strove heart and soul to live up to what they believed to be the principles of their religion.[2]

As has been indicated the Law, far from being regarded as an intolerable burden, was the pride and the glory of the Jewish people. They actually loved it

[1] *Beginnings*, vol. ii. p. 112, note 2. The very fact that in Rabbinic literature the hypocritical Pharisee is blamed is a proof of how high the true one stood in popular estimation.

[2] The Pharisees distrusted the attitude of Jesus towards the Law, but, except the Hellenist Saul before his conversion, none of the sect persecuted the Church. One thesis in this work is that St. Paul never completely broke with Pharisaism, but was only anti-legalistic for his Gentile converts. I cannot agree with Mr. Herford that 'Paul presented a mere travesty of Judaism,' though his followers have undoubtedly done this.

for all the severe demands made upon them. It is true that it never was nor is easy to be a strict observer of the Jewish Law. It meant isolation from the world, constant religious observances, and no common self-denial. But when habits have been instilled into a people for generations, when they are recognized as the chief means for maintaining their nationality, when their customs have been perpetuated by the heroic deeds of their ancestors, above all when they are believed to be due to the will of the God Who had so wonderfully preserved Israel in the past as His own People, it was natural that the Law should be regarded with enthusiastic affection, and that even those who were lax in observing it should reverence those who performed all its precepts. These found a special pride and joy in fulfilling them. We cannot understand Paul without taking into account his early enthusiasm and that of his countrymen for the Law.[1]

Besides the Jewish world in Palestine to which Paul in part belonged, there was another of which he also was a member, that of the Judaism of the Greek-speaking Dispersion. In every part of the Roman Empire and far beyond its frontiers, from the river Indus to the shores of the Atlantic, Jews were to be found. In the great capitals of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, especially at Alexandria, they formed a large part of the population. They are called in the Acts of the Apostles Hellenists because they spoke Greek in contrast to the oriental Jews who like those of Palestine, used Aramaic, a dialect akin to the ancient Hebrew, but more copious and widespread being the

[1] One has only to read the Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm to see how the Jews loved their Law.

lingua franca of the Near East. Here we are concerned with Hellenistic Judaism, of which the chief literary products which have survived are the Greek translations of the Old Testament; the so-called Apocrypha bound up with our Bible, notably The Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (a translation from the Hebrew) and the books of the Maccabees; the writings of Philo of Alexandria and of Josephus. That these have survived is due to the Christian Church; for when Judaism became entirely Hebraic in its language, and all its instruction was given in Hebrew or Aramaic, its Greek literature was allowed to fall into oblivion. Some the Christians preserved as part of their Scripture, some they regarded as valuable evidence for their religion; and they studied Josephus and Philo when the Jews had completely forgotten them. The influence of these writings on Christianity is too important to be overlooked here, though a passing notice must suffice.[1]

"The Jews translated their Scriptures into Greek at least as early as the third century before Christ. This they rightly regarded as a momentous step, and attributed it to the suggestion of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt and founder of the library at Alexandria. The translation was embellished by legend, and the Christians added a miraculous story that all the translators were inspired to produce identically the same rendering. On the whole it, and not the Hebrew, was the Bible of the New Testament and of the Christian

[1] The eagerness with which the Jews studied the wisdom of ancient Greece and claimed that it was derived from Moses, contrasted with their complete abandonment of all their literature in Greek, can be accounted for, I think, less by their antagonism to Christianity, than by their renunciation of the culture of the Roman world after A. D. 135.

Church for centuries. Other versions were made by Jews in opposition to the ancient one which the Church had adopted, but even these owe what is known of them to Christian copyists; and yet the Greek Bible is the gift of Hellenistic Judaism. With all his exclusiveness the Jew has always possessed great powers of assimilation. In one stage of its development Judaism was powerfully influenced by Persia; and where Jews learned Greek they adapted their methods of thought to its philosophy.

The Alexandrian Jews, unlike the Palestinian who persisted in using a Semitic language, rapidly assimilated Greek ideas. As a salve to conscience they persuaded themselves that the wisdom of Greece had all been derived from Egypt, where Moses, their lawgiver, had left behind some of his sublime truths. Encouraged by this belief they boldly tackled Plato and interpreted the Law by the aid of his philosophy. Even the God of Israel, the King, Father, Shepherd, Husband of the nation, and the Leader of its hosts, became Hellenized as the Unknown and Ineffable Deity, who acted through some Intermediary, His Wisdom or His Word. But for all this the Greek Jews held firmly to the observance of the Law by which His Will was known. Philo, an earlier contemporary of Paul, has no use for lax and half-apostate Jews any more than the author of the Book of Wisdom. It is generally maintained that the Hellenized Jews were more liberal in their opinions than those who lived in Jerusalem, but there are no signs of this in the Acts. Paul, who certainly used their phraseology, had no more bitter opponents in his later days.[1]

[1] As Saul and the Hellenistic synagogues stirred up the persecution about Stephen (Acts vi, 9ff), so the Jews of Asia accused Paul of having profaned the Temple (Acts xxi. 27).

There were other followers of Judaism outside the nation. In the days of Paul the Jews were eager missionaries, anxious to induce the Gentiles to accept their religion. There is a saying attributed to Christ that the Pharisees 'compassed sea and land to make one proselyte' (Matt. xxiii. 15). Judaism had its attractions. On its lower side it was regarded as powerful magic. A Jew was not like other men. He might be disliked, but there was something mysterious about him and his religion which made people feel that he was supernaturally helped. Hence the Jewish magician was in request, and Jews were asked to sell dreams and foretell the future.

But in its nobler aspect the religion of the Jews had its attraction. Their lives were purer than those of the surrounding peoples, and they were almost the only nation which had not degenerated in the enervating atmosphere of the *pax Romana*. The women especially were drawn to Judaism. Hence arose the numerous class of 'proselytes.'

It used commonly to be assumed that there were two kinds of proselytes, those who sympathized with Judaism (and the synagogues were largely frequented by Gentiles) and those who threw in their lot absolutely with Israel. These were called respectively 'Proselytes of the Gate' and 'Proselytes of Righteousness.' But this distinction did not exist. Judaism did not recognize half-Jews. A proselyte must accept circumcision and become an Israelite, or remain a Gentile. He must be all or none.

Our Lord added that when the Pharisees made a proselyte he was more 'a child of hell' than themselves, meaning, I suppose, more persecuting and intolerant.

This is but natural: a man born and bred in a religion is more apt to take it as a matter of course. He recognizes outsiders as people less fortunate than himself. It may be he knows his religion is not perfect though he loyally adheres to it. Not so the convert, who must show his zeal for his new faith by hating his old beliefs, and his loyalty by denouncing those who hold them. Hence he is specially inclined to encourage persecution. St. Paul was opposed by the Jews as a rival missionary, and by the proselytes as a hateful apostate.

Very little is known of the rise of the worship of the Synagogue, but by St. Paul's day it was universal. It was not sacrificial, or priestly or ritual. It was more like Christian worship than anything else. The reading of Scripture, the recitation of the Psalms, the prayers, the exposition of the Law in sermons were its characteristics, as were discussions on points of religion. The synagogue was largely utilized by St. Paul to propagate his doctrines, as it was there that he invariably began his preaching when he visited a city for the first time.

The social standing of the Jews in the early days of the Roman Empire is important. Despite much unpopularity especially when congregated in large numbers in an otherwise Greek city, like Alexandria, their leaders were influential and not ill received in the higher circles in Rome. The Jewish actor, Aliturius, Josephus relates, was an important person in assisting the historian in his embassy from Jerusalem (*Life*, ch. 3). The Herodian family were powerful in the Imperial house, and the mother of Herod Agrippa I was an intimate friend of some of its great ladies. Tiberius Alexander in Egypt was a high Roman official. Herod

Agrippa was brought up with the Emperor Caligula. Paul had his friends in Cæsar's household.

All the time Paul was preaching, events were preparing for the terrible outbreak of Jewish patriotism which ended in the Jewish War and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and it must not be forgotten that the power of the Jews was due to the fact that they were not only widely dispersed and well-organized, able as negotiators and turbulent as mobs, but that they were the one people within the bounds of the Empire capable of seriously threatening its existence.

II

THE GENTILE WORLD

St. Paul was a Jew and also a Roman. As the one he was able to obtain a hearing among the People of God; as the other, protection as a traveller in all parts of the civilized world.

The Roman Empire was one of the greatest political achievements of the human race, and the fact that it ever came to an end is one of the most difficult things to account for in history. It is now the fashion to disparage it, chiefly because it does not conform to our modern ideas of what a world-government should be; but with all our progress and enlightenment we have never been able to produce anything in Europe which maintained the peace, and, on the whole, the happiness of mankind for so long a period. To judge it from the standpoint of some modern writers, it never did anything but decline and fall. But considering that the world dominion of Rome began after the conclusion of the second Punic war in B.C. 202, continued to increase till the conquest of Britain in A.D. 52, that no part of it was lost till the fifth century A.D., that Constantinople or New Rome only ceased to be the seat of empire when it was taken by the Turks in 1453, and that the last ruler to claim to represent Cæsar and Augustus surrendered the title of Roman Emperor in 1806, the marvel is not so much the fall as the endurance of the Roman Empire.

It is also frequently assumed that when the Empire, as we call it, was founded under a single ruler, all liberty ceased. But as regards everybody, except the Roman

aristocrats and plutocrats, all that makes liberty worth having really began with the Empire. It was now possible to travel by good roads on land, and on a sea freed from pirates, to trade, to study, to correspond. Peoples were allowed to retain their ancestral religion, cities enjoyed large privileges of self-government, the inhabitants were free from compulsory military service. What citizenship means can be illustrated by an event in A.D. 1847 and another in A.D. 58.

A Maltese Jew named Don Pacifico was attacked by the mob of Athens, his store wrecked, and he and his family insulted. He was not an attractive person, nor particularly honest, and he claimed outrageous damages. But he was a British subject, and the minister, Lord Palmerston, insisted that justice should be done to him by the Greek government. Both the French and the Russians protested, and the incident nearly led to a war. But Palmerston declared that no British subject, whoever he might be, could be insulted with impunity, and had a right to demand the support of the Empire to which he belonged.[1]

A Jew was accused of profaning the Temple at Jerusalem. The priests and populace of the most turbulent city in the Roman Empire clamoured for his death. To refuse to give him up might provoke a rebellion. But he was a Roman citizen. Four hundred soldiers and seventy men mounted were requisitioned to take him in safety away from the city (Acts xxiii. 23). Two years later he could boldly say to the provincial governor, 'I stand at the tribunal of Cæsar where I ought to be judged . . . if what these people accuse

[1] In defence of his action in the House of Commons, Palmerston made an effective use of the words *Civis Romanus sum* ('I am a Roman citizen').

me of is nothing, no man can give me up to them. I appeal to Cæsar,' and the only answer to this was, 'Thou hast appealed to Cæsar: to Cæsar shalt thou go' (Acts xxv. 10–12). Such were Paul's rights as a citizen of Rome. The whole of the vast power of the Empire protected him from being wronged.

Paul was, of course, a privileged person, but the way in which he probably acquired his citizenship shows how comprehensive Rome had already become. No longer was Rome a city, nor the capital of Italy; she was the whole civilized world. Her citizens were living in all countries, irrespective of their nationality; according to the Acts of the Apostles, Paul and Silas, both Jews, were citizens, and Paul says he was a Roman by birth. Claudius Lysias, in command of the troops at Jerusalem, bought his citizenship (Acts xxii. 25–29). At Philippi the inhabitants, like those of all colonies, were Romans (Acts xvi. 21). A manumitted slave could be a citizen. St. Paul, therefore, was a Roman; because his father or grandfather had purchased the privilege, or was the client of a great family, or had rendered service to the government. Paul belonged to the ruling class. He was free from the oppressions and insults to which provincials were exposed. He might not be put in bonds, or beaten or condemned to a shameful and lingering death. Paul tells us that he suffered most of the hardships of a mere provincial in his travels as an apostle; but as a Roman he had the right of appeal to the People, which in his day meant to the Emperor, who was invested with the power which had belonged to the tribunes of the plebeians. Zealous for the Law as a Jew, he also had a respect for Rome which threw over him her protecting ægis.

The Roman imperial system has been loudly condemned from the moment it was inaugurated to the present day. The Republic is supposed to have stood for liberty, the Empire for slavery, and nearly all the literature of the time was eloquent in praise of the one and condemnation of the other. Even in modern times the Roman Republic has been regarded as the embodiment of civil liberty and honest simplicity of life, and the Empire of grinding despotism and incredible luxury and vice; and, whenever an assassin has made up his mind to kill a king or president, he has flattered himself that he was imitating the austere virtue and love of liberty of Brutus, the murderer of Julius Cæsar. Whatever the political merits of the ancient Republic were—and no one can deny that the system which practically abolished the distinction between the ancient patricians and plebeians and extended the citizenship in a modified form throughout Italy, without civil bloodshed, preserving Rome for centuries from internal tumult, must have possessed many virtues—still, the boasted liberty of the later Republic extended only to a few powerful political and military leaders. The imperial system of Augustus, on the other hand, by preserving the outward form of the republican constitution whilst placing all real authority in the hands of one man, was hailed by a world distracted by war with a sigh of relief. At Rome, after Augustus, no doubt, dreadful things happened, but the provinces had gained greatly by the change. Under the Republic their administration was oppressive in the extreme. A proconsul was sent to govern one for a single year. It was impossible for him to become really acquainted with the people before his

term of office was concluded. As a rule, therefore, he made hay while the sun shone, and returned to Rome with a fortune extorted from the wretched people. Augustus and his successor, Tiberius, seriously endeavoured to reform this abuse. Tiberius left the same man in the province or district for years. Josephus says that when he was asked why he did this the Emperor spoke a parable. A man bleeding and grievously wounded was covered with flies, which a benevolent stranger tried to drive away. The sufferer begged him to desist because the flies on him were satiated, and if new ones came they would be hungry and only increase his torment. Tiberius meant that a newly-appointed governor usually had a keener appetite for plunder than a man who had been in office for some time. But even under the worst emperors the Roman tradition, which, with all its harshness, had respect for law and order, was maintained and the greater part of the world enjoyed the advantage of a firm and established government.[1]

Not only so, but a certain amount of freedom was allowed and even encouraged. No one can read the Acts of the Apostles without seeing that almost every city had its own government and officials. Thessalonica had its 'rulers of the city' (*politarchs*), Ephesus its 'town clerk' (*grammateus*) or scribe, Jerusalem its Sanhedrin under the High Priest, and for a short time a king of Judea (Agrippa I). One has only to consult a map of the Near East to see that native rulers abounded. In Asia Minor there was a Kingdom of Polemo, and a Kingdom of Commagene, in Northern Syria a little

[1] *Beginnings*, vol. 1, p. 192ff. The inhabitants of some senatorial provinces petitioned to be transferred to the Emperor in order to enjoy a more equitable government.

Kingdom of Chalcis ruled by one of the Herods. There were also petty rulers called *ethnarchs*, or *tetrarchs*, and priestly rulers of territories belonging to Temples as the High Priest in Judæa had once been. The policy of leaving native potentates to administer their kingdoms under Roman protection had been adopted by Pompey the Great, and was not wholly dissimilar to the arrangement of British India with its native states.[1] In fact, the Romans allowed the people to govern themselves provided they remained at peace and caused no disturbance. We do not hear of any of Paul's labours outside the provinces directly subject to Roman authority.

It was customary to represent the Roman world of St. Paul's age as utterly corrupt. This was due to the fact that the sole source of information was the picture drawn by the moralists, including St. Paul, the historians, and the satirists of the time. But if modern life in fashionable circles is to be judged only by unfavourable reports would it fare much better? To judge of a society by the scandals about its rulers, and the degrading amusements provided for the corrupt populace of the large cities, is manifestly unfair; and now we know more of the life of the people, especially of the middle classes, from inscriptions and the Egyptian papyri[2] we have to revise this judgment. Still commonsense would prevent the belief that the average member of society lived an entirely abnormal life. We read in the contemporary literature about the excesses,

[1] *Beginnings*, vol. i, p. 182. Professor Duckworth, the writer of this chapter draws an interesting parallel between these 'native states' in the Roman Empire and those in British India.

[2] From these *papyrus* fragments we gain a clear idea of middle-class life in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

often bestial, the follies and the luxury of men and women intoxicated by their power and wealth, but the inscriptions and papyri show that the ordinary folk had their little clubs and fraternities, exhibited much domestic affection, carried on the business of life, kept their accounts and wrote more or less illiterate letters to their friends and relations. At the same time fear of exaggeration must not conceal the fact that society in every heathen city was more corrupt than where people are even professedly Christian, and that ancient life had some very repulsive aspects which are happily absent from our own.

Religion in the Roman Empire bore at least some resemblance to that of the present day. The government was tolerant of private opinion of the subject, and of practices which were not inconvenient to good order. Provided people did not interfere with the religion of the state, they might worship much as they pleased, and few were satisfied with what was officially practised. They preferred something which appealed to them as individuals. There was a perfect passion for cults, mostly oriental in origin, which inspired the imagination, or promised the knowledge of secrets unknown to ordinary mortals. The worship of Cybele with its priesthood and its baptism of blood came from Asia Minor; that of Isis with its impressive ritual, from Egypt; later, that of Mithras appealed by its secrecy and its ascending scale of initiations. But the most popular attraction was in the so-called 'mystery religions.' Both men and women were initiated into the mysteries or secrets of some divinity. As a rule, the 'mystery' turned on death and life, and the initiates were subjected to some test of their fortitude before they

were admitted. Often the story was represented in dramatic form. Those who had passed the test and learned the secrets formed a fraternity, and probably met for a common meal. This some consider to have had a very important bearing on the work of St. Paul, as it is a much debated point whether he did not borrow from the mysteries for his doctrine of the Christian Sacraments. Was his interpretation of Baptism as being a death and burial followed by a resurrection with Christ to a new life, due to an unconscious adaptation of what he had been told about the heathen mysteries? The same may also be asked about the Lord's Supper.[1]

One form of religion which appears very strange and repugnant to us, and yet, if explained, is easily accounted for, was the worship of the ruling Cæsar. It is difficult for us to understand how men could regard a mortal as a supernatural being, and pay him divine honours, yet it is common in almost all primitive stages of society. Still it does seem strange that in a highly civilized world men should gravely believe that the Emperor was divine. Yet something very similar is said to have happened in India when the native soldiers of General John Nicholson (d. 1857) began to worship him as a god. Horrified at such honours being paid him, the general ordered his worshippers to be flogged, but this evidence of his power and wrath only made them pay him more respect. It was somewhat the same with the Emperor Augustus. The more he showed his

[1] My private opinion is that the atmosphere of the mystery religions pervaded the Church in regard to the Sacraments at a later date than that of the labours of Paul. Dr. Inge's judgment in his *Outspoken Essays* (First Series), that Paul was 'willing to take the first step, and a long one, towards the paganizing of Christianity' seems to be entirely misleading.

dislike to divine honour, the more the provincials desired to worship him. Was this altogether unnatural? Rome (the Greek word *rômê* means power) was not only a power to be dreaded, but an object of gratitude; to Rome the people owed the peace of the world, and Cæsar was to them the embodiment of Rome.[1]

The cultus was strictly not of the Emperor himself, but of the *Genius* (Greek *tychê* = fortune) of Rome, and neither Julius Cæsar nor any living Emperor, except Tiberius, was worshipped in Italy, where deceased emperors by decree of the Senate were enrolled among the gods with the title of *divus*, a practice which has an analogy with Christian canonization. In the provinces, however, in all parts of the Roman dominion, 'colleges' of priests were organized for the worship of Cæsar. This had an important bearing on the spread of Christianity, as well as on the fortunes of Judaism. The Emperor Caius, better known as Caligula (A.D. 37–41), gave orders that his statue should be placed in the Temple of Jerusalem, to the horror of the Jews throughout the world; and their objection was ignorantly interpreted by the government as a sign of disloyalty. Later, Christians suffered for refusing to swear by the *genius* of Cæsar, their refusal being considered to be a proof of disaffection. Both Jews and Christians declared that they either sacrificed, or prayed for the welfare of Cæsar. On the other hand, the elaborated hierarchy organized for the purpose of the Imperial cultus, may have been unconsciously copied by the Christians in organizing the churches under their own leaders or bishops, especially as the episcopal

[1] *Beginnings*, vol. i, p. 205 Professor Duckworth discusses the rise of the cultus of Rome and Cæsar and of the hierarchy of its priesthood. The provinces practically forced Augustus to accept their worship of him.

system is supposed to have originated in Asia.[1] The world in St. Paul's day with its Gentile background resembled in some ways our own. (1) It was cosmopolitan; (2) it was full of great cities; (3) distinguished for its grandiose rather than great achievements; (4) for the enormous wealth of individuals and the rise of new men to power and influence; (5) the people more and more looked to the state for maintenance; (6) side by side with much brutality there was a growing feeling in favour of more humanity; (7) scepticism was giving way to a desire for religion, though the old faiths were becoming discredited.

(1) The Romans complained that their city was no longer inhabited by natives even of Italy, just as today New Yorkers say that theirs is no longer American. When St. Paul wrote to the 'Romans,' even if he could have sent a Latin letter, his correspondents probably would not have been able to read it. Greek was widely spoken in the imperial household as well as the crowded quarters of the city. In the streets one would see every type of oriental face, and men of every race — African, Gauls, Spaniards, even British. The satirist Juvenal complained that Rome was in his day, a generation later than Paul's, not Roman, but Greek, and also that the native population had been swamped by Syrian immigrants. It was the same everywhere, nationalities were annihilated by the world being under a single government and by the consequent ease with which people were able to transplant themselves. This was one of the means by which a universal religion had become possible as it never had been before.

[1] Early episcopacy was parochial rather than diocesan. Long before the Peace of the Church (A.D. 313), the ecclesiastical organization was based on the secular divisions of the Empire.

(2) Another symptom of the change which had come over the Roman world, as it has over ours, is that people no longer desired to live in the country. The poets sang in praise of the life of the farmer, and the rich built country houses and indulged in gardens and amateur farming, but the population crowded into the towns. The population of Rome cannot be determined, but some have placed it at two millions. Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, and other cities may each have had a million or more crowded within their walls. The countryside was well-nigh deserted, and the great cities had to import their food from overseas. Most of the labour was done by vast gangs of slaves; and the freemen were often unemployed and looked for food and entertainment being supplied by the rich, so that their idle classes were recruited alike from the wealthy and unemployed, and the industrious middle-class was gradually disappearing. Among these people the Christian religion made headway and probably one of its attractions was the simple and laborious life which it encouraged. When Paul worked with his own hands he did almost as much to advance the Gospel as by his sermons and letters. City life, however, with its many disadvantages, at least brought men together and contributed to the spread of Christianity. In later times it was the countryman *paganus* who adhered to the earlier religions.

(3) Another characteristic of the Roman world was the desire to do things on a large scale. Josephus tells us that one of the great causes of Pontius Pilate's unpopularity with the Jews was that he used the treasures of the Temple at Jerusalem to construct a great aqueduct to supply the city with water. Many to-day would

sympathize with Pilate. Water was the supreme need necessary for the health of the people. The treasury of the Temple was full to overflowing and Pilate resolved to employ some of the surplus, not for his own advancement, but for the public benefit. The Jews regarded this as profane (*Antiq.* Bk. xviii. iii. 2). Roman commonsense was opposed to religious zeal and a serious riot followed. But the incident is instructive. We see in it an example of the practical but unsympathetic good sense of the Roman, opposed to the idealism of the Jew. The characteristic of the Roman rule was that it was occupied entirely with this world, and even its religion and its gods stood for civil virtue and the material objects of life. Paul and all associated with him, even his personal opponents, were against this conception of society. Yet the immense buildings and works of the Romans command our admiration. The wonderful system of sewerage which protected the health of Rome, the arches spanning the valleys to sustain the pipes which brought pure water from afar, the huge baths and amphitheatres, the ruins of which still survive in cities in every part of the ancient empire, the paved roads which were constructed over hill and dale, often for many miles in a straight line, the magnificent harbours, are all proofs that the government was one of the most practical this world has ever witnessed. Nevertheless, Rome lacked the lofty idealism which men like St. Paul afterwards laboured to create by propagating the religion of the Christ. Truly, the Apostle could say when he lived among these stupendous efforts to secure permanence, 'The fashion of this world passeth away.'

(4) The days of St. Paul were marked by the con-

centration of great wealth in the hands of individuals. The Roman from the earliest days was avaricious: the first domestic troubles in Rome were due to the savage cruelty with which the patricians exacted payment of the debts of their plebeian fellow-citizens. It was the same in the later days of the Republic except that the distinction was not between a privileged aristocracy and the people, but, as now, between rich and poor. In St. Paul's day immense fortunes were made; but the most successful 'millionaires' were often men of the humblest origin. The freedman was the butt of the satirists of society. Slaves were often highly educated and were employed to manage their masters' affairs, often greatly to their own personal advantage. Thus we have the extraordinary anomaly of slavery reducing some to abject misery, and at the same time enabling others to become the financial masters of the world. But on the whole, covetousness was the besetting sin of the age, and was the subject of the solemn warning of the Master, 'Take heed and beware of covetousness,' and of Paul, who said, 'Covetousness which is idolatry.'

(5) Another interesting parallel between St. Paul's time and the state of Europe, especially England at present, is that the people looked to the government to maintain them. Crowded into great cities, they depended on free distribution of corn and food generally; and demanded entertainment at the public cost. To prevent disturbances it was necessary to keep large idle crowds fed and amused. What was condemned by moralists as the profuse extravagance of the emperors had often policy behind it. Taxation became increasingly heavy, population decreased because the indus-

trious could not look forward to a secure maintenance of their children. Family life was disappearing owing to this and the increasing selfishness of the age, and good men looked to the future with apprehension.

(6) Despite the unquestionable grossness and brutality of the Roman Empire in the first century of our era, there was a growing tendency to greater humanity. Moralists like Seneca, who exhibits many sentiments resembling those of Paul, showed a disposition to recognize the right of slaves to a treatment far less severe than that sanctioned by the law. Some of the best men openly showed their horror of the gladiatorial combats. The great lawyers began to recognize that the entire human race – even slaves – had rights as men. In short, the old Roman sternness was gradually though almost imperceptibly yielding to kindlier feelings toward mankind, and the Christian idea was not entirely opposed to the best feelings of the time.[1]

(7) Lastly, the age was a religious one. In the later days of the Republic the old religion was losing its hold and nothing was taking its place. Epicurean atheism was fashionable, the heathen priesthoods scoffed at the rites they were celebrating. But when Augustus became supreme he encouraged a religious revival; and under his successors it became evident that the vast majority needed some religious help though men knew not where to look for it. Christianity came to supply them with a pressing want.[2]

[1] The Stoic philosophers, and especially the lawyers, began to recognize that all men had rights. Seneca in his *De Beneficiis* (on Kindnesses) recognizes that slaves can be true friends to their masters.

[2] Even if Christianity did borrow from the 'mystery religions' the existence of these proves that men found in the true religion that which they had sought in the false – purification from guilt and a closer union with the divine.

In such a world Jesus Christ appeared with a message from God, which He delivered in a tiny province of the world-Empire. How St. Paul carried this message throughout all lands in the face of incredible difficulty, persecution, and danger must be the theme of every attempt to write his life.

III

CHRISTIANITY BEFORE ST. PAUL'S CONVERSION

Lack of material makes it very difficult to say exactly what the Christianity of the first age was. Before we set out on our task to describe it, we have frankly to declare that we have no absolutely contemporary evidence for the acts and words of Jesus. This startling proposition is not a result of advanced criticism; it is valid even if the traditional view of the origin of the New Testament is correct, and the author of the First Gospel is St. Matthew the Apostle; of the Second St. Mark, the companion of St. Peter and St. Paul; of the Third St. Luke, the fellow-traveller of St. Paul, and the Fourth St. John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. For the earliest tradition informs us that St. Matthew wrote the 'oracles' of Jesus in 'Hebrew,' and therefore the Gospel, as we have it in Greek, must be later than his original collections of the sayings or 'oracles' of Jesus. St. Mark is credited with having put into his little volume what he received from St. Peter. St. Luke says that he was not an eyewitness, whilst the tradition is that St. John wrote his Gospel in extreme old age. Contemporary evidence would have to be that of someone who recorded during the ministry of the Lord what he actually heard and saw Him say and do at the same time. Mark and Luke are confessedly secondary witnesses; Matthew and John, if primary, must have written so late that many things had happened entirely to alter the view they had of Jesus when He was actually with them on earth. But no amount of

cold criticism can alter the fact that the Four Gospels, if not as useful to the apologist as formerly, are still of unequalled value to the devout student of Christianity.[1]

The life of Christ is naturally of immense importance to every follower of His religion; but the question of the sources is most intricate, and even the simplest discussion would break too much into a plain narrative like the present. Here we may begin with the only record we have of the infant church of Jerusalem, to be found in the first chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

However the astonishing miracle of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead may be explained, and whatever view may be held of what actually happened, there is no doubt that the disciples of Jesus accepted it as a fact. The Man Whom they had known on earth, with Whom they had conversed familiarly, Whose body they had touched and handled, had been crucified, buried in a rock-hewn tomb, and had come to life again and they had seen and conversed with Him. He had also disappeared into heaven before their eyes.

What we have to inquire into is not so much the physical facts, as the result a belief in them inspired. This may be summed up by saying that Jesus had been while on earth a Teacher and His followers disciples, and now He was in heaven He had become a Deliverer, and His former disciples were His Apostles. Henceforward, it was their duty to proclaim that deliverance

[1] The Gospel story of the words and acts of Jesus belongs to an aspect of Christianity somewhat different from that disclosed in the Epistles of St. Paul. This is discussed in *Beginnings*, vol. i., 265ff. 'The Public Teaching of Jesus and the Choosing of the Twelve.' The first three Gospels are later than Paul's epistles. Paul's system, mainly theological, and that of the Synoptists, historical, existed almost from the first side by side and have continued to do so ever since.

had come to Israel and to the world at large in the person of Jesus Christ, Whose resurrection was a proof of His being the long-promised and expected Messiah. The Twelve who had been chosen companions of Jesus were charged with disseminating this good news (*evangel* or gospel). The followers of Jesus were all of them Jews, and inevitably regarded all that had happened in terms of Judaism. During the ministry Jesus was recognized as a rabbi or teacher and acknowledged as a prophet. At the very end, after Peter's confession, His immediate disciples saw in Him the Messiah or Christ. After the Resurrection, Peter had no hesitation in proclaiming openly to the Jews at Jerusalem that He was the Messiah. But the speeches of Peter's as reported in Acts ii. 14-39 and iii. 12-26 go much farther than the popular conception of what the Messiah was to accomplish. If modern criticism is correct, there are two accounts of the day of Pentecost, the earliest being, not Acts ii but Acts iii and iv in which Peter declares that by His death, resurrection and glorification, Jesus is the Messiah, 'Whom the heaven must receive until the times of the restitution of all things' (Acts iii. 21). In other words, He is not a mortal anointed by God to save Israel from its earthly enemies but a Divine Being, exalted into heaven, Who will return in God's time to perfect His work on earth. In the other speech, recorded in Acts ii, one proof of His Messiahship is the Resurrection, the other the fact that the spirit of God has been poured out on man, and that all who accept Jesus may receive it together with forgiveness of their sins by being baptized.[1]

[1] For Dr. A. von Harnack's view of the double tradition see *Beginnings*, vol. i, 322ff.

The record of Christianity before Paul is indeed brief, and what is told us in Acts can only be subjected to the test of historical probability, which is naturally a matter of opinion. Nevertheless, that Jesus was from the first regarded as the Messiah, now in heaven, may safely be accepted. According to Acts the preaching of Peter and the Apostles to this effect was popular in Jerusalem. What opposition there was seems to have come from the much-disliked priestly aristocracy: the people and even some of the Pharisees (Acts xv. 5) seem to have been on the side of the new sect. This may be accounted for by the fact that the Pharisees had opposed Jesus for His supposed laxity in regard to the Law. This charge could not be brought against His disciples. Peter is said to have gloried in his scrupulous abstinence from all food that was common or unclean (Acts x. 14). The little society had abandoned Galilee and settled in Jerusalem, as Jesus had commanded them. They were constantly occupied in their religious duty of worshipping in the Temple. It may be that some of the Pharisees, who we are told joined the Church, saw in the resurrection a confirmation of their own favourite doctrine. At any rate, their school had no quarrel with people who vied with them in their observance of the Law, since their legalism did not interfere with the private opinions of those who obeyed the commands of Moses.

Evidently, however, the new religion was spreading widely and rapidly, as was to be expected. The Jewish world was sensitive to all that happened in Jerusalem and the preaching of the Risen Jesus must have been from the first widespread. Before Paul, a community, probably a synagogue, had been established in Damas-

cus, and the Gospel had reached Antioch. St. Paul was undoubtedly a great missionary of Christ. but there were many others, and he was not the first. The Church of Jerusalem was undoubtedly sending forth its preachers, especially in southern Palestine, from the beginning. Further, before Paul, Christianity was becoming bi-lingual by adopting the Greek language. Professor Torrey, of Yale, has endeavoured with much learning and ingenuity to prove that not only was the spoken tongue of the infant Church Palestinian Aramaic, a dialect resembling the ancient Hebrew but far more widespread, but that there existed a literature in the same language before the Christians employed Greek, his theory being that St. Luke used an Aramaic document when he wrote his Gospel and the earlier chapters of Acts. The late Professor Burney, of Oxford, has maintained a similar theory that the Gospel according to St. John was originally in Aramaic, a view held, though not elaborated, by earlier scholars in Germany, going as far back as 1645.[1] From Acts vi we learn that there were Hellenistic (Greek-speaking) as well as Hebrew (Aramaic-speaking) Jews almost from the first, and thus the dissemination of the Gospel in two widespread languages had begun, if not before the conversion of St. Paul, at least anterior to his appearance as a prominent figure in the Church.

The question as to who were the leaders of the Christian movement before Paul is more difficult than might appear. Peter certainly was, but how about the rest of the Twelve? This demands our careful con-

[1] See *Beginnings*, vol. ii, 133ff, for discussion of the theory of C. C. Torrey, of Yale, that Acts i-xv is a translation from an Aramaic document. This is to be found in the *Harvard Theological Studies* No. 1, (1916).

sideration. It would be natural to assume that the leaders were the twelve men whom Jesus had chosen to be with Him; and this is confirmed by the first chapters of the Acts and supported by what we read in the Four Gospels. It is also the unvarying tradition of the Church. But when we come to inquire what is known of the Twelve Apostles, with the exception of Peter and possibly John the son of Zebedee, the information at our disposal is indeed small. There is a general agreement throughout the New Testament that the Lord chose Twelve Apostles, evidently with the intention that they should, after careful training by Him, take an important place in the New Israel. These Twelve are mentioned in the three first Gospels and in that according to St. John, in St. Paul's Epistles and in the Book of the Revelation. In the first chapters of Acts the Twelve, with Matthias in place of the traitor Judas, are represented as witnesses, and, presumably, preachers of the Resurrection (Acts ii. 31), and leaders in the infant Church. The Christian tradition, universally accepted, is that on leaving Jerusalem the Twelve, reduced to eleven by the martyrdom of James the brother of John, divided the world among themselves and departed each to his respective sphere of missionary labour. At a comparatively early date they were credited with having legislated for the future of the Church, to have prescribed the form of its government and the ritual of its worship, and to have given laws in the form of Constitutions or Canons. In addition to this the story goes on to say subsequently that they formulated the creed of the Church, each contributing an article to what was popularly known as the Apostle's Creed. Each of them presided over churches

ruled by bishops, who received from them the Apostolic Succession.

Such then was and still is the theory of the Catholic Church. But when the historian proceeds to examine its foundations he is perplexed by the scantiness of the material.

In the first place, whilst the lists of names are examined they are never exactly identical. Nor do any of them except Peter, James and John and, of course, Judas Iscariot, play any important part in the narrative of the first three Gospels. In St. John they are here and there represented as speaking as individuals, but with the exception of Peter and Thomas, none have any marked characteristics. In Acts Peter is the only one who speaks or acts, sometimes in association with his silent partner, John; and later the Church of Jerusalem passes without any explanation under the rule of James, the brother of the Lord (Acts xii. 17). In the epistle to the Galatians the leaders of the Mother Church are James, Cephas, and John (Gal. ii. 9). The general impression left by a perusal of the New Testament is that the Twelve were important in the early Church; but that the only one of whom we have definite information is Peter.

When we turn to the tradition of the Church we cannot fail to see that the earliest writers know as little about the members of the college of the Twelve as we do. Having no direct information the early Church fathers dispatched the Apostles to remote parts of the world and, except in Asia Minor and Greece, no part of the Roman Empire seems to have been evangelized by any of the Twelve. Scythia, Ethiopia, India are the spheres of their labours and no known Church at

an early date claimed to derive its Episcopal succession from any original Apostle except Peter and possibly John. The rest of the Twelve simply disappear.[1]

On the other hand, two of the Seven so-called deacons played an important part in evangelization: Stephen, whose bold preaching in Jerusalem made him the first martyr, and Philip, whose labours are recorded in Acts. This Philip in later legend is inextricably confused with his namesake the Apostle. One of the Seven attains in legend to the more questionable fame of founding an heretical sect, alluded to in the Book of Revelation.

Prominent among the leaders of the Church before Paul were the 'brethren' of the Lord, especially James. These and the Mother of Jesus are mentioned among the company who were assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. James, one of these 'brethren,' became the head of the Jewish Christian body, apparently even superseding Peter at Jerusalem. He represented a type of ascetic sanctity, intensely Jewish, which won him the respect of all the people. Even Josephus regards his death as one of the crimes which brought destruction upon the guilty city of Jerusalem. In his letter to the Corinthians Paul makes a casual allusion to 'the brethren of the Lord' whom he mentions with Cephas or Peter, as very active missionaries, and undoubtedly they played a very important part in the early days of the Christian Church (1 Cor. ix. 5).

As for Peter, legend gives him a position even

[1] One has only to refer to such a work as *The Apocryphal New Testament* by M. R. James (Oxford, 1924) to realize that in the second century there was a great desire to know what the Twelve had done, and that the faithful had to be satisfied with incredible and not always edifying legends about them.

greater than it does to Paul, and according to Acts he was the leader of the Church at its inception. He and not Paul was the first to approach the Gentiles, as well as to preach Christ in Jerusalem. The tenth chapter of Acts which relates the conversion of Cornelius may or may not be historical. Some consider it a free composition of the author of Acts. Whatever it is, it is an admirably told story of the way in which a Gentile centurion and his friends were admitted to the Christian community.[1] In Acts xv. 7 Peter declares that he was the pioneer of carrying the Gospel to the Gentiles. His relation to Paul must be a subject for future discussion; his importance is unquestionable.

Two very important Christian workers before Paul were Barnabas and John Mark. They were not among the original disciples of Jesus, though Barnabas evidently took a leading position at a very early period. His wealth, liberality and energy combined with his sweetness of disposition made him from the first a prominent member of the community, and the house of his kinswoman Mary, the mother of Mark in Jerusalem, became the meeting place of the believers (Acts xii. 12).

It was Barnabas who first recognized and made use of the great gifts of Paul. Despite his name, Joseph, surnamed Barnabas (son of prophecy) and the fact that he is not known by any Gentile appellation, as a Jew of Cyprus he was probably a Hellenist.

We can now review the condition of the Church up to the time of St. Paul's entering upon his recorded

[1] M. Loisy points out many literary defects in the relation of the baptism of Cornelius. Any one, however, who has heard Acts x. really well read in the Authorised Version will, I think, admit that whether strictly historical or not the story is admirably told.

labours which can hardly be before the death of Herod Agrippa related in Acts xiii. Our only guide is the Acts of the Apostles; and as the history is presented in a series of brief sketches rather than in a continuous form, its omissions of facts which must have been known to the author leave many regrettable gaps in our information.

For example, it is assumed that there was a Christian Church in Damascus, though nothing has been said of the preaching of the Gospel outside Judæa and Samaria. Even in the 'We sections' long periods, *e.g.*, the imprisonment at Cæsarea, in Paul's life are passed over in silence.

It is at least implied in the Gospels, except that of Luke, that the appearances of the Risen Lord took place in Galilee. But in the Lucan account events are centred in Jerusalem. There the Apostles were ordered to remain 'till they were endued with power from on high.' The community numbered about a hundred and twenty with the eleven Apostles, the women who had ministered to Christ, His brethren and Mary His mother. The first act was to make up the number of the Apostles to Twelve, by appointing Matthias in place of the traitor Judas (Acts i. 15f.).

Then came the day of Pentecost, when a vast number of Jews 'from every nation under heaven' were assembled in the Holy City, the outpouring of the Spirit, the sign of the gift of tongues, and the public preaching of Jesus by Peter as a result of which three thousand Jews are said to have accepted baptism. The new converts were brought together and united in the 'teaching of the Apostles, the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers.' A society was then organized

in which no one called anything he possessed 'his own. The believers were constantly to be found in the Temple and 'breaking bread at home took their food with gladness and simplicity of heart.' It is specially noted that the people of Jerusalem were favourable to them (Acts ii. 41 - 47).

The significance of this is that the followers of Jesus were devout Jews and the preaching of the Resurrection at first caused no hostility.

Persecution began with the priestly authorities and the Sadducees taking offence at an address made by Peter to the people in Solomon's porch within the Temple precincts, after he and John had healed a lame man at the Beautiful Gate. The Apostles were arrested but the priests were, owing to the popularity of the new sect, unable to do more than forbid them to preach. The Apostles were once more arrested; but this time an 'angel' opened the doors of their prison. When brought before the Sanhedrin they were dismissed, by the advice of Gamaliel, a famous Pharisee, after being beaten, and an injunction not to preach, which they disregarded (Acts v. 17 - 42).

It is difficult to see how the believers in the Risen Christ were outwardly distinguished from the Jews around them. Admission by baptism was adopted; but except St. Peter's words on the day of Pentecost: 'Repent and be baptized and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit,' there is no hint as to its significance; and in Chapter III, which some critics consider earlier than Chapter II, the Apostle exhorts to repentance and says nothing of Baptism. As to the fellowship or communion and the breaking of bread, it is impossible to say whether the Lord's Supper is here intended or not.

With Chapter VI a new phase of the infant Church appears. The ideal of a common fund as it is found in the early section has made way for that of the Church as a charitable institution. The Hellenistic Jews complain that the widows belonging to the Hebraic section are preferred to their poor 'in the daily ministration.' Accordingly the Apostles arranged that, as the Hebrews are represented by the Twelve, the Hellenists should have Seven chosen by themselves to see to their interests. Doubtless these looked after their poor; but they soon surpassed the Twelve in their missionary zeal.

Persecution now arises, not from the people of Jerusalem, nor from the priests, but from the Hellenistic synagogues in the city. Paul, or Saul, as he is here called, now appears as a leader, not of the native Jews, but of the Hellenistic residents. Stephen, the most prominent of the Seven, is stoned after a tumultuary trial, and the first blood is shed since the crucifixion of Christ. All the believers are scattered, as we are told, except the Apostles, and thus an attempt to preach Christ abroad was inaugurated, not by the Twelve, but by one of the Seven. Philip, whose name stands next to that of Stephen on the list in Chapter VI, goes to the city of Samaria, possibly the heathen city built by Herod the Great and called after Augustus (— *Sebastos*) Sebaste. Whether those to whom he preached with such success were pagans or Samaritans is not known, nor the nationality of his convert, Simon the Magician, who received baptism at his hands. At any rate, a new stratum of converts had been discovered by the Hellenistic believers, to which the attention of the original Apostles at Jerusalem was

directed. Peter and John came to the city of Samaria, withstood Simon and gave the gift of the Spirit to those whom Philip had baptized (Acts viii. 9 - 13).[1] Philip, as we were informed, went on with his missionary work independently, and his last exploit recorded was the conversion of the chamberlain of Queen Candace, of Ethiopia, whom he baptized.

This was really the turning point in the career of Peter. Hitherto he had been the spokesman of the Twelve, the head of the Hebrew community at Jerusalem. Now he enters upon a missionary career in the cities of mixed nationality on the Mediterranean seaboard of Palestine. At last, encouraged by a vision, he boldly converts, baptizes and even eats with the Gentile centurion Cornelius. God through his mouth has declared salvation to the heathen.

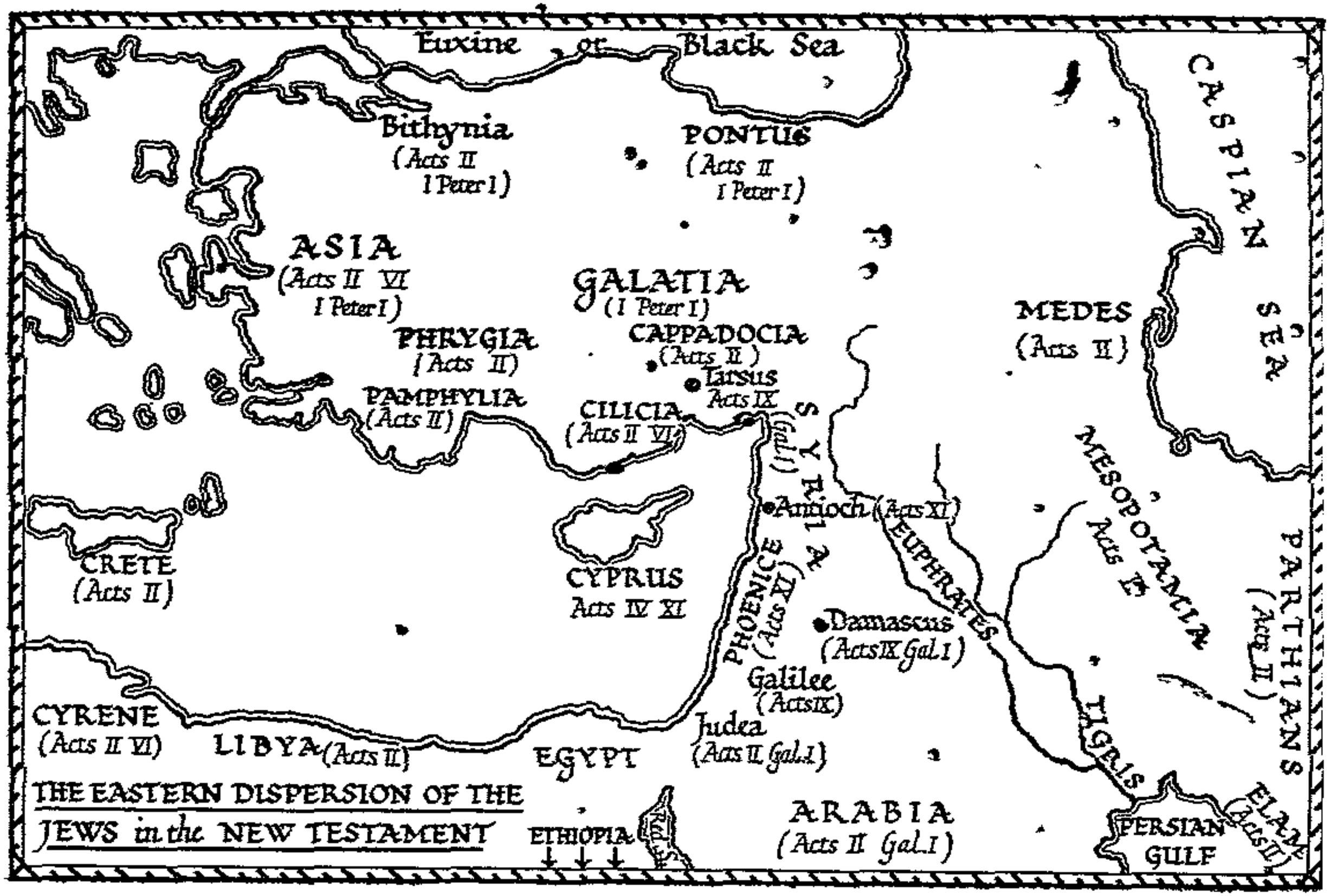
We learn from Acts that the Hebrew believers in Jerusalem looked on the activity of Peter with anything but favour. He had to explain his conduct towards Cornelius, and received what was perhaps a grudging approval; for in the next chapter it appears that the head of the Jerusalem community is not Peter, but James the 'brother' or kinsman of Jesus, a strict observer of the Law, whose prayerful asceticism was regarded as the perfection of Jewish piety.

The Hellenists dispersed from Jerusalem had travelled northwards through Phœnicia and reached to Antioch, which was destined to become, for a time at least, the Hellenistic capital of the Christians, for so

[1] A mass of tradition concerning Simon arose at a very early date. He was believed to have received divine honours at Rome where St. Peter overcame him. The Samaritans declared Simon to be the 'great power of God.' Was he a heathen? If so his baptism anticipates that of Cornelius.

the believers were called. Their missionary zeal extended to the heathen to whom Jesus was proclaimed as Lord. This time the Mother Church sent Barnabas to organize the extension of the Gospel, possibly as the recognized leader of the Hellenistic believers. We are informed that he recognized the ability of the newly-converted Saul, for he is not yet called Paul, and that he brought him from his native Tarsus to coöperate with the zealous missionaries at Antioch.

Thus at the time the labours of Paul began the Faith was widespread. As appears from his conversion, there was a community already at Damascus, and the Gospel had been extended along the coast of Palestine and Syria. The Gentiles had been approached, Peter had become a missionary to the world at large and, though still in its infancy, the Church was already becoming widely diffused and quite possibly had attained a certain cohesion and organization.


Euxine or Black Sea
CASPIAN SEA
Bithynia
(Acts II
I Peter I)
PONTUS
(Acts II
I Peter I)
ASIA
(Acts II VI
I Peter I)
GALATIA
(I Peter I)
MEDES
(Acts II)
PHRYGIA
(Acts II)
CAPPADOCIA
(Acts II)
Tarsus
Acts IX
PAMPHYLIA
(Acts II)
CILICIA
(Acts II VI)
SYRIA
(Gal I)
Antioch (Acts XI)
MESOPOTAMIA
Acts II
EUPHRATES
PARTHIANS
(Acts II)
CRETE
(Acts II)
CYPRUS
Acts IV XI
PHOENICE
(Acts XI)
Damascus
(Acts IX Gal I)
Galilee
(Acts IX)
TIGRIS
CYRENE
(Acts II VI)
LIBYA (Acts II)
EGYPT
Judea
(Acts II Gal I)
ELAM
(Acts II)
ARABIA
(Acts II Gal I)
PERSIAN GULF
ETHIOPIA
THE EASTERN DISPERSION OF THE
JEWS in the NEW TESTAMENT

IV

EARLY DAYS OF PAUL

Paul says of himself, in his letter to the Corinthians, that if any Jewish teacher of Christianity had reason to boast of an unblemished descent, he had equal cause for glory. 'Are they Hebrews' (*i.e.*, using the Hebrew or Aramaic as their native tongue)? 'So am I.' 'Are they Israelites' (*i.e.*, members of the covenant nation)? 'So am I.' 'Are they of the race of Abraham?' 'So am I.' (II Cor. xi. 22). In another epistle he tells the Philippians: 'If any man has cause to boast of his earthly descent' (or 'has confidence in the flesh') 'I have more reason to do so. I was circumcised on the eighth day. I am an Israelite by race, a member of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrew stock. I belong to the legal party of the Pharisees, I showed my zeal by persecuting the Church, as an observer of the Law I was irreproachable' (Phil. iii. 4 - 6).

In the Acts these words are attributed to Paul. In all probability by one who was with him on his last visit to Jerusalem. At Jerusalem he is represented as saying to Claudius Lysias, the commander of the Roman garrison: 'I am a Jew of Tarsus of Cilicia, a citizen of no obscure city.' Immediately afterwards he speaks of the crowd who hear him in silence because he addresses them in 'Hebrew,' or rather in Aramaic: 'I am a Jew of Tarsus of Cilicia, brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated carefully to observe our native law, as zealous for God's cause as all of you are to-day' (Acts xxi. 39, xxii. 3). The next day he is said to have declared to the Jewish Sanhedrin: 'Brethren in all

good conscience I have been a loyal citizen in God's state'; and when pressed he cried out: 'I am a Pharisee and the son of Pharisees' (Acts xxiii. 6). Indirectly it is implied that his home was in Tarsus; for when Barnabas wanted his help in evangelistic work, he went to Tarsus 'to seek for Saul' (Acts xi. 25). Paul was also a Roman citizen. In Acts he tells Claudius Lysias, who had bought the privilege, that he was one by birth (Acts xxii. 28). In his Epistles he repeatedly declares that he plied some trade by which he maintained himself by manual labour in order to be no burden to his converts. From Acts it appears that he was a tent-maker, but the meaning of the word used, *skênopoios* (Acts xviii. 3) is doubtful. He was, however, evidently possessed of some private means. One who was destitute of all resources except his precarious earnings from a craft plied in the intervals of missionary labour could never have written to Philemon about the runaway slave Onesimus 'If he has wronged thee or owes thee aught, put it to my account. I Paul write with my own hand, I will pay it' (Philemon 18). In Acts the procurator Felix kept him a prisoner at Cæsarea because he hoped that 'money would be given him by Paul,' obviously to purchase his release. When a prisoner at Rome Paul was allowed to live in a private lodging at his own expense (Acts xxiv. 26, xxviii. 30).[1]

This is the evidence for Paul's birth, upbringing and social status. That of the Epistles is unimpeachable, the more so in that it has no dogmatic significance

[1] That Paul's actual birthplace was Tarsus has been questioned. Jerome says he was born at Giscala in Galilee. Epiphanius relates a scandal circulated by the Ebionite Jews that Paul was a proselyte whose hostility to Judaism was due to his being prevented marrying the High Priest's daughter.

whatever. That of the Acts may be of secondary value but is none the less probable because most of the statements quoted occur when the writer of the 'We section' was in his company. At any rate it is all the information available. It can be questioned only by resorting to subjective criticism; but the historian must accept only the evidence at his disposal unless other facts can be brought forward to invalidate it. It seems therefore certain that Paul was a Jew in the fullest sense of the word, conscious that in his pedigree there was no Gentile admixture whatever. That he came of a family in which devotion to the Law was hereditary, and that he had been educated in the schools of the Pharisees. He was a native of Tarsus of Cilicia, and bi-lingual, speaking Hebrew and Greek with equal facility. Finally he was by birth no obscure mechanic, but a man of some importance, and probably his kindred were not only highly respected but in easy circumstances, and if he, as he undoubtedly did at times, felt the pinch of poverty, it was because he had sacrificed himself to a great cause.

From this material the story of his early life may be constructed with some probability.

His home was Tarsus: and as that city was one of the intellectual centres of the age, it is a question whether he imbibed any of the Greek culture of his native place. This is not easy to answer. It is remarkable that the direct allusions to the classical writers are to be found in the doubtful writings and speeches of the Apostle (Acts xvii. 28; Titus i. 12). But on general principles no one would be more unlikely than he to make a display of literary culture in such of his writings as have survived. Paul was the last man who

can be imagined as polishing his periods. He wrote or dictated his letters impulsively, and they reflect his mind at the moment. He is rarely logical, and sometimes scarcely grammatical. At times he rises to sublime heights of natural eloquence, at others his language is confused, sometimes he becomes almost brutal in the vigour of his vituperation (Gal. v. 12; Phil. iii. 2). He displays all the unevenness of inspired genius. It may safely be said that he wrote Greek as he talked it; for the literary Greek of the age was practically an unspoken language.

Still it is hardly conceivable that a boy, brought up in such an intensely Hebraic environment as Paul, should have frequented the Gentile schools, were it not for the fact that Philo of Alexandria, an uncompromising maintainer of the Law, was an eager student of Plato. At any rate Paul reveals little of the culture and none of the pedantry of the Greek writers of his age. When he wanted to say or write anything, the last thing he evidently considered was the style in which he should express himself, and when he attains to sublime heights he does so by an unconscious effort which is truly inspiration. Again and again it is necessary to impress on our minds the fact that of all men Paul is least fitted to be judged by a conventional standard.

As to his education in Judaism, it is difficult to speak definitely. Gamaliel the elder is a very shadowy figure in Jewish tradition. He was evidently an important link in the chain which connects Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue with the rabbis of the Mishna. Yet very little is recorded of him, and what is may possibly refer to Gamaliel II who flourished later than

St. Paul. It is noteworthy, however, that when Gamaliel appears in Acts it is to play a part entirely opposed to that of his disciple. In the fifth chapter when the priesthood of Jerusalem are desirous of killing the Apostles, Gamaliel advocates a policy of toleration, and even if, as seems probable, the speech put into his mouth is a composition of the author's, the attitude of Gamaliel towards the followers of Jesus is that of the Pharisees who were not wholly unfriendly to Judaic Christianity.[1]

The education of St. Paul as a Jew may be illustrated by what his younger contemporary Josephus tells us of his own course of studies.

At the beginning of his earliest Greek work, *The Wars of the Jews*, Josephus says that it is 'a translation of those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the "Upper Barbarians"' (*Wars*, Preface i), that is to the non-Greek-speaking peoples of Parthia and the East. He evidently means that he wrote in the Aramaic, a dialect akin to Hebrew, then current in the East. In the last book of the *Antiquities* he tells us that he took great pains to obtain a knowledge of Greek literature, and to learn the language. He could not succeed in speaking Greek correctly. 'For,' he goes on to remark, 'our people do not encourage us to learn the language of many nations, because they think that this can be done not only by free men but even by slaves, and the only wisdom they prize is a

[1] There were two Gamaliels, the elder, who must have been Paul's master, and the younger. Very little is known of the 'elder,' but he was evidently highly honoured and bore the title of Rabban. He is not mentioned by Josephus The *Jewish Encyclopedia* says that the only evidence that he had a school is Acts xxii. 3.

knowledge of our Laws and the correct interpretation of the Scriptures' (*Antiq.* Bk. XX. II. I). In his *Life*, as well as in the *Antiquities* Josephus says that he was recognized as a youth and was still acknowledged to be preeminently learned in the Law of the Jews, and here his words remind us of St. Paul's declaration to the Galatians that he had made more progress in Judaism than many of his contemporaries (Gal. i. 14 Josephus, *Life* 2).

From the statements of Josephus it may be legitimately inferred that the Jewish rabbis of the first century deliberately discouraged the pursuit of Greek learning, and that one who had been, like Paul, sent to Jerusalem to study under Gamaliel, would not have been allowed to learn the art of writing and speaking classical Greek. As has been said, he employed the spoken language of the period.

The Jewish name of the Apostle was Saul, sometimes written in the Greek form *Saulos*, at others in the Hebrew *Sa'oul* (Acts vii. 58, ix. 4 and 17). In Acts he is introduced as Saul and becomes Paul in the thirteenth chapter after the conversion of the proconsul Sergius Paulus. Like many Jews of his age, as well as before and since his time, he bore a twofold name. It is possible that his father or grandfather may have obtained Roman citizenship as a client of some one named Paulus. This double character, that of a Jew speaking the language of Jerusalem, and of a Roman citizen able to use fluently the Greek of the period, qualified Paul to act as a mediator between the world of Israel and that of the Empire. It is also quite possible that he had a knowledge of Roman as well as Jewish law, which would account

for the ability he displayed in his legal dealings with the Roman officials.

As a Pharisee, Paul was a member of the same sect as Josephus, who has given more than one description of it. The Pharisees are esteemed most skilful in the exact explanation of the Law. (The word 'exact' is practically the same in the Acts as it is in Josephus.) They believe that God has appointed to each man his destiny, yet they admit a moral freedom of the will. The soul they say is immortal, that of good men is given another body, the bad are punished eternally. The Sadducees, on the other hand, do not believe in destiny and assert that God has nothing to do with a man acting ill or well, but it depends entirely upon himself. According to them the soul does not survive the death of the body (*Antiq.* Bk. XIII. v. 9, *Wars* Bk. II. viii. 14)

Josephus, it must be remembered, is writing for Gentile readers and has to explain himself in terms which they can understand, and to consider what would appeal to their interest. Naturally, therefore, his description of the Pharisees is not what we find in Rabbinical writers. Nevertheless, what he says is very instructive. The two rivals in Judaism represent two schools which have always been in antagonism. In his day the Pharisees would have corresponded roughly with the Stoics, and the Sadducees with the Epicureans. The analogy only holds good in this respect. The Pharisees, like the Stoics as implied in their doctrine of recurrence, *i.e.*, that events happened in a predestined order and would do so again, held that Providence ruled all things, but refused to let this be an excuse for man disclaiming responsibility for men's actions. Theirs was a strictly moral view of religion dependent

on God. The Sadducees, on the other hand, inclined to the Epicurean philosophy, that God or the gods are indifferent to man's doings and that all depends on individual choice. 'At bottom it is the old and apparently interminable dispute between free-will and determinism, and as to whether man can or cannot do right without the special grace of God. If Josephus' description of the two sects is correct there is no doubt as to which influenced St. Paul.[1]

But there is another aspect of the question. Josephus says that in their judgment the Pharisees were more lenient than their rivals. This is confirmed by the story of Gamaliel in Acts. Nevertheless, though a Pharisee, Paul was unquestionably opposed to the principles of his master, and an advocate of Sadducean and priestly persecution of the followers of Jesus. For this the following explanation may be suggested. In the earlier chapters of Acts the molestation of the believers was confessedly occasional and abortive. 'At most the Apostles received a beating from the authorities, a very different thing from a brutal Roman flagellation. When we come to the story of the persecution about Stephen it was otherwise, and blood was shed for the first time. This attack was instituted by Hellenistic Jews, and the victim was a Hellenistic Jew. 'It appears that both sides had gone to extremes. The believers had declared that the religion of Jesus was subversive of the religion of the Temple and the customs prescribed by the Law, and their accusers were like themselves Greek-speaking Jews visiting Jerusalem. Saul or Paul was the leader, not of the anti-Christian

[1] See *Beginnings*, vol. i, chap. iii, *passim*, 'Thought and Practice in Judaism.'

Jews of Jerusalem, but of the Hellenistic Jews. He instigated the persecution against his rival Stephen and his followers, and when he carried it to Damascus he did so, not as a delegate of the Sanhedrin or the High Priest, but at his own special request, in answer to which the High Priest gave him letters to the Jewish authorities at Damascus. It seems therefore probable that Paul, in spite of his early education at Jerusalem, and the fact that Hebrew or Aramaic was spoken in his family circle, was an Hellenistic Jew.

The Pharisaism in which St. Paul was educated at Tarsus and Jerusalem was undoubtedly not that which Josephus describes—a philosophy interested in problems of the will. It primarily, however, concerned itself in the due observance of the Law. One has, however, only to read the first five books of the Bible to realise that the literal fulfilment of every precept is impossible. The Law often presupposes a wandering community encamped nightly round a central sanctuary, and elsewhere a society of agriculturalists confined to a small country. The problem was how to make this law feasible under entirely different conditions. By insisting on the literal fulfilment of the Law the Sadducees made it impossible and thoroughly unattractive, with the result that no one except the priests at Jerusalem could attempt to observe it. Their rigorous interpretation seems to have made them unpopular, especially as they were considered to pursue a worldly policy. Very different was the attitude of the Pharisees, who set themselves to work to make the observance of the Law possible for all earnest Jews. By carefully collecting the 'tradition'

of the elders as to how the Law should be interpreted, and by distinguishing between what was possible and what could not be literally observed, they were constructing a new Judaism which was destined to survive the Temple, the downfall of the Jewish state, and to endure to this day, despite all the calamities of the nation. This Pharisaic Judaism, and not the older Judaism of the Temple and of the Hellenic Dispersion, became in the end the real rival of Christianity.[1]

Not that Pharisaism ever made religion easy. The many traditional observances rendered any intimacy between Jew and Gentile almost impossible. It caused every Jewish household to be a stronghold into which no Gentile could penetrate, and it carried out to the full the separation policy at which Ezra and Nehemiah had aimed centuries before. Pharisaism, nevertheless, was decidedly popular. Any sort of caste system which segregates men in religious groups has always been favoured in eastern lands. In addition to this Pharisaism was democratic. It made every individual in the Jewish world feel that he had a place in its peculiar religion, now no longer a matter confined to the priests of a local temple, but the business of every Jew in the world.

In this atmosphere the young Saul was brought up — I imagine in a strict, but wealthy, Jewish home, living among Gentiles but rigidly separated from them: a Roman by inheritance, yet a Jew by birth, proud of his ancestry, of his people, above all of his religion, devoted to the observance of his ancestral customs which he firmly believed to be the ordinance of God,

[1] *Beginnings*, vol. i, p. 136. The other Jewish sects looked back to the past; the Pharisees took count rather of the present and the future.

a fanatic because of his intense patriotism and faith in the absolute perfection of the Law as well as in the high destiny in store for his nation. How far he profited by his rabbinical training is not certain, and the question is complicated by the fact that, to judge by his letters, he was less proficient in the dialectic of the schools than Jesus. But then it must be borne in mind that Paul wrote mostly to mixed communities, in some of which Gentiles were more numerous than Jews, whilst the audiences of Jesus were almost exclusively Jewish. My own opinion is that Saul of Tarsus was regarded at Jerusalem as the rising hope of the Hellenistic party, and I hazard the conjecture that in his youth he cherished hopes of making Judaism as widespread among the Gentiles, as he succeeded later in propagating the faith in Jesus.

This helps us to answer the question so frequently raised whether he was a member of the Sanhedrin. The probability appears to be that he was not. The persecution about Stephen was instigated by the Hellenists at Jerusalem (Acts vi). The priests of the Temple were the judges, not the instigators of the trial. It was the synagogue of the so-called Libertini, of the Cyrenians, and other Greek-speaking Jews who resisted Stephen, who suborned the witnesses, who stirred up the people, the elders and the scribes, and who dragged Stephen before the Sanhedrin. After Stephen's speech before the High Priest, there is no mention of any sentence of condemnation. The furious mob of foreign Jews (as I understand) rushed upon Stephen and dragged him outside the city to stone him. The leader of these proceedings was Saul, who obviously went to carry the persecution to Damascus, not

at the order of the High Priest but at his own request. It is almost incredible that the writer of Acts meant to imply that Saul of Tarsus was one of the judges of Stephen. Rather he was the fanatical head of the party which brought about his death.

It is also a debatable point whether St. Paul was ever married. A member of a Jewish family so strict in its observance of the Law as his would naturally have been given a wife when he reached manhood. But it is idle to speculate on this point. Throughout his career as we know it the Apostle seemed to be quite independent of family ties. His sister's son, a man of some energy and initiative, lived in Jerusalem, and he mentioned 'his kinsmen' in the Epistle to the Romans. Beyond this we have no information.

It seems safer to infer that Paul was sprung from a Jewish family living at Tarsus, that his relations were of some importance and possibly wealth, that he was brought up in a devout home and received his education as a Jew in Jerusalem, though he was more conversant with Greek than the ancient Hebrew in which the Scriptures were written. It may be inferred that his education was almost entirely Jewish, and that he was regarded as one of the most zealous of the Greek-speaking branch of the Pharisees. This is all that can be said definitely about the Apostle before his conversion.

V

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL

We have five accounts of the conversion of St. Paul and its attendant circumstances, supplemented by a description by the Apostle of his own religious experience, which last will demand careful consideration and is really of far more interest to us than the story itself.

The Apostle twice speaks of his having been converted from a persecutor into an ardent worshipper of Jesus, and two speeches describing the event are put into his mouth in Acts, the writer having already given an account of his own. It may be as well to reserve the most important testimony furnished in the Epistle to the Galatians to the last, beginning with the narratives in Acts. The conversion of Saul, the instigator of the death of Stephen and what followed is related with dramatic power in the eighth and ninth chapters of Acts. As in other parts of the book there is occasionally a disappointing lack of details with which we should gladly be acquainted in order to obtain an accurate idea of what actually happened, yet the interest is never allowed to flag as we are transported from one scene to another.

First we witness the cruel death of the first martyr for Christ, with the executioners casting their garments at the feet of a young man, named Saul, who was consenting to Stephen's death. Unmoved, or rather excited to fury by the terrible spectacle, this man proceeds to further extremities, entering into the houses of the believers in Jesus, and arresting

(haling)[1] both men and women, committed them to prison (Acts vii. 58, viii. 1-3, xxvi. 9-11).

Not content with what he had done in Jerusalem, Saul obtained from the High Priest leave to carry the persecution to Damascus with letters to the rulers of the synagogues, authorizing him to arrest those whom he might find 'of that way,' for so the new religion was styled, whether they were men or women — notice the women are specially mentioned as in the previous section — and send them for trial to Jerusalem (Acts ix. 2).

Saul was evidently accompanied by a body of 'familiars' of this Jewish inquisition; and, as his company neared Damascus, he seemed to be surrounded by a bright light and as he fell to the ground to hear a voice saying 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Go into the city and there it shall be told thee what thou oughtest to do.' When he rose he was completely blind. His companions did not understand what had happened, all they heard was a sound from heaven. They brought Saul to Damascus and left him blinded and refusing to eat or drink. His abandonment by his companions as a sick man, unable to *continue his mission, makes what follows more easily* understood (Acts ix. 8-9).

Ananias, a disciple of the Christ at Damascus, is then warned by a vision of the Lord (*i.e.*, Jesus) to go to Saul's house in the 'Street called Straight.' Ananias naturally remonstrates at a command to visit one who is known as a cruel persecutor of the brethren. He is

[1] The word to 'hale' is now obsolete; but in Cambridge the path by the Cam where the barges were hauled by horses to the town is still known as the 'Haling Way,' and a student ordered to appear before the authorities is said to be 'hauled' or 'haled.'

reassured: 'Go, for he is my chosen vessel, to bear my name before Gentiles and Kings and the children of Israel, for I will show him what he must suffer for my name's sake.' Ananias obeyed, went to Saul and greeted him as a brother, whereupon the scales fell off his eyes and he immediately received baptism, took food, and was himself again (Acts ix. 10-19).

Saul, to the astonishment of all, appeared in the synagogue, and, to the confusion of the Jews in Damascus, proved that Jesus was the Son of God (the only example of this expression in Acts) and the Christ (Acts ix. 20-22). This naturally provoked them; and a plot was made to kill him. The disciples of Jesus, however, managed to lower him down the wall of the city in a large basket, and he escaped (Acts ix. 25, 2 Cor. xi. 33).

We next find Paul at Jerusalem where the disciples refused to receive him till Barnabas took him into their midst and related what had happened to him. Being accepted as a follower of Jesus he became an active missionary to the Hellenistic Jews whose leader he had formerly been. These too sought his life; but by the aid of the disciples he was able to reach Cæsarea and to go to his home in Tarsus (Acts ix. 26-30).

The two speeches, in which the conversion is related, are in Acts xxii, an address to the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, and in xxvi, in his defence to Herod Agrippa II. In each of these the details differ in some respects, but the main facts are the same.

This brings us to the Apostle's own description of the incident. He says nothing of the actual vision on his way to Damascus; but he insists that he has really seen the risen Lord Jesus. He does not mention the

vision of Ananias, alluded to in Acts ix and xxii, nor his baptism. But he writes of his escape from Damascus to the Corinthians. 'In Damascus the ethnarch of Aretas the king was guarding the city of the Damascenes to take me, and I was let down from a window in a basket over the wall and I escaped their hands.' This confirms the story in Acts but gives it a different complexion. Paul's preaching had provoked enmity apparently outside as well as inside Damascus, and the heathen Aretas was as anxious to capture him as the Jews. The city gates were watched by the Arab soldiers, and Paul could only escape from some part of the wall where no sentries were posted (2. Cor. xi 32-33). Finally there is the important statement in the letter to the Galatians. This must be read before it can be discussed. The words of the Apostle are:

For ye heard of my former behaviour in Judaism how excessively I used to persecute the church of God and ravage it, and I advanced beyond my contemporaries in Judaism, and was extremely zealous for my ancestral traditions. But when it pleased God who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace to reveal his son in me that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I took no human counsel (*literally* 'with flesh and blood,') nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who had been Apostles before me, but I went into Arabia, and then I returned to Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and I remained with him fifteen days. And others of the Apostles I did not see, but only James the brother of the Lord. Now what I write to you, before God is no lie. Then I went into

the districts of Syria and Cilicia (Galatians i. 13-21).

This solemn testimony differs materially from the narrative in Acts. Nothing is said of the intervention of Ananias, nor of the preaching at Damascus immediately after the conversion. On the contrary, Paul says expressly that he withdrew immediately to Arabia without consulting anybody. This appears more probable than the version of Acts. That the persecutor should have, so to speak, vanished for a time and reappeared in Damascus to preach Jesus as the Messiah is more natural than that he should at once have entered the synagogues and announced his conversion. Nor is it likely that till some time had elapsed he should have gone to Jerusalem, where he had been known as a violent opponent of the very cause he had espoused.

It is not easy to say exactly what happened amid so much conflicting testimony, all, including that of Paul himself, given some years after the event. It is only by conjecture that we can construct a connected story. All that can be said definitely is that Acts ix appears to compress into a few verses events extending over some time. Paul says that three years elapsed, before he went to Jerusalem to visit Peter. From the first, however, the movement into which he threw his energies seems to have been Hellenistic rather than Hebraic; and he both persecuted and preached Christ as a Greek-speaking Jew. From Galatians and even from the Acts we can infer that his intercourse with the Hebrew-speaking Christians in Jerusalem was both occasional and slight. Damascus was, although apparently at this time outside the nominal frontiers of

the Roman world, a Greek-speaking city, and the Jews living there were Hellenists. In Acts Paul spoke to the Hellenists in Jerusalem (Acts ix. 29); and in Galatians he implies that after his visit to Arabia his early work was in Syria and Cilicia (Gal. i. 21). But the real difficulty is raised by what Paul goes on to relate to the Galatians about himself. Though he was unknown personally to the Churches of Judæa in Christ, yet his fame as a preacher among the Gentiles had spread abroad, and he adds, 'They were glorifying God in me.' This went on for fourteen years, making seventeen since the conversion. The writer of Acts has nothing to tell us of this long period; not, it should be noted, of retirement, but of active missionary labour among the Gentiles; and, even if allowance is made for great compression and much omission in the very brief narrative of Acts (ix. 26-30, xi. 19-30), relating to Paul's doings from his first visit to Jerusalem to the sending forth of the mission to Antioch, it is difficult to reconcile it with the statements in Galatians.

Acts tells us that Paul after being converted and preaching Christ in Damascus escaped and went to Jerusalem, where he tried to join the society of the Disciples. They would not believe in the genuineness of his conversion, till Barnabas introduced him and explained that it was a real vision; and that Paul had shown much boldness in Damascus. At Jerusalem Paul preached and disputed against the Hellenistic Jews in the name of the Lord (Acts ix. 28). They tried to kill him, and the brethren sent him by way of Cæsarea to Tarsus. There is no hint as to how long Paul was at Tarsus, but a note is appended to the above account which may cover some considerable period,

and at any rate shows how little we know of the progress of the Faith for the first twenty years after the Resurrection.

'The Church then in all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria had peace, and was being built up, and advancing in the fear of the Lord and in the consolation of the Holy Spirit, was multiplying' (Acts xi. 31). This is the only mention outside the Gospels of any preaching in Galilee. It is followed by the narrative of Peter's preaching in Lydda and Sharon, and that of the conversion of Cornelius.

Then we are abruptly transferred to Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, where those who were dispersed from Jerusalem by the persecution about Stephen are preaching to Jews only (Acts xi. 19). Some from Antioch address the 'Hellenists' and Barnabas is sent from Jerusalem to supervise what is obviously meant to be considered a new movement. As the Church increases, Barnabas goes to Tarsus to find Saul. So far as St. Luke or the writer of his source knew, Paul, having been driven out of Jerusalem, had gone home to Tarsus (Acts ix. 30), and remained there till Barnabas brought him to Antioch (Acts xi. 26.) It is hard to imagine that Acts desires to convey the impression that nearly fourteen years had elapsed between Paul's visit to Jerusalem where he preached to the Hellenists, and his arrival at Antioch in company with Barnabas.

On the whole, however, the account in Acts seems more probable than that which Paul gives of himself, if we take his words literally. Still, though both Acts and Galatians were written later than these events, Paul's own statement must be preferred as direct evidence.

Yet it must be confessed the statements in Galatians are difficult to understand; for it is not easy to think that Paul spent all these years in an active ministry among the Gentiles without any apparent result, especially as in Acts xiii it is evident that Barnabas and he were supposed to be undertaking a mission from Antioch, which was a step far in advance of anything previously recorded, namely to go far afield and work among the Gentiles. Emphasis will be laid on this point in the chapters which follow, and all that can here be done is to point out a difficulty which can only be explained by hypotheses which are founded on no evidence whatever. It is of course possible that Paul did, as he says, work for close on seventeen years among the Gentiles, almost if not entirely unsupported, and that his labours were so fruitless that no record of them remains. Perhaps the most ingenious suggestion is that of Professor Lake that the 'fourteen years' is a mistake, and that really only four are meant – in Greek ιδ = 14, and ι is but a small letter. But this though it simplifies the problem, is supported by no text or version of the Pauline Epistles. All we can do is to put the facts on record, and leave them unexplained, and perhaps unexplainable. It must, however, be remembered that a great success, such as that of Paul as a missionary, is frequently prepared for by many apparent failures which are likely to be forgotten. My own view is that he preached, as Acts implies to Jews (ix. 22), and to Hellenists (ix. 29), but made no attempt to found Gentile churches, till he reached Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 14ff).

The facts of the vision near Damascus, and of the subsequent movements of Paul immediately after-

wards fade, however, into insignificance as compared with a description Paul possibly gives of his own *mental condition and the way in which he found peace* and satisfaction in accepting Jesus Christ as his Master. One of the most interesting experiences in religious autobiography, the real inner motives which led to the great change in the Apostle, may be disclosed in his Epistle to the Romans. These few verses are of greater psychological interest than even St. Augustine's beautiful but lengthy account of his 'Conversion.' In writing to the Roman Christians, St. Paul is endeavouring to show that the Law which Moses gave to Israel, though good in every respect, was the cause of the condemnation of such as knew it. Not because there was anything amiss in it; quite the contrary, for it was divine, but because no mortal man had the power to keep it in its entirety. It revealed the will of God, and the way men should live, but as no one could observe its every precept, it did not save, but only pointed out how far man had gone astray from God. Thus instead of saving mankind, it only revealed the state of ruin into which all had fallen. So the Law was 'holy, just, and good,' and at the same time, not life, but death to the human race.

Why was it so? Because the Law being spiritual is too good for man, who after all is flesh and blood, that is weak, fallible, and unable to satisfy all its demands. Then Paul gives his own personal experience.

'We know that the Law is a spiritual thing, but I as flesh and blood am the slave of sin. Being such I desire to do what is right, but I have no power to perform it. If I do things in my weakness which I hate to do, it means that in my conscience I acknow-

ledge that God's law is good. But my human nature is so weak, and sin so powerful that I cannot obey it. I am therefore in a wretched plight, anxious to do right but unable through the flesh to do other than sin. "Who shall deliver me from this body which is nothing but death?" (Rom. vii. 24). The answer to this question is that God delivered his servant from this state of misery by the Lord Jesus Christ, who has destroyed sin in the believer that he may become able to serve God (Rom. viii. 1-14).

This account of the inward struggle which went on in the heart of St. Paul is certainly much later than his conversion. It may be that he is relating an experience which came to him long after he had declared his allegiance to Jesus, or it is possible that Paul's language is intended to be, not personal, but rhetorical. Still it is at least permissible to imagine that something of the kind was going on within him, when he was a zealot for the Law. For his 'conversion' was not of a profligate to a life of virtue, but of an intensely devout man from one profound conviction to another. As he says of his countrymen in this same letter to the Romans, 'I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God but not according to knowledge' (Rom. x. 2). Paul as a persecutor of the Church was as enthusiastic a follower of the Law, as he subsequently was of the Christ, though it is remarkable how rarely the Apostle alludes to the acts and words of Jesus during His ministry.

It was his devotion to the Law which made him so bitter against the new sect, especially as it appeared among Greek-speaking Jews; for Stephen and his friends had evidently gone far beyond the original

followers of Jesus, whose obedience of the Law, as we have seen, won them the favour of the people of Jerusalem (Acts ii. 47). Stephen was accused of speaking against Moses and God and declaring that Jesus would destroy the Temple, and change the customs which Moses had delivered (Acts vi. 13-14). This leaves the impression that the Greek-speaking Jews had embraced the belief in Jesus, not as the original disciples had done as the perfection of obedience to the revealed law, but as containing a message with world-wide possibilities. Saul of Tarsus and his party saw the danger to strict legalism, and, in their enthusiasm for the Law, resolved to nip it in the bud.

But it is conceivable that, when a man's zeal becomes most ardent, doubt may begin to insinuate itself. St. Paul may have found even at this time that the more he studied the Law and the Tradition, the harder it was to be true to their precepts. His sensitive conscience may have reproached him with many half-involuntary breaches, even on its moral side, of the Law which he felt bound to keep in its entirety. It is also not impossible that Paul in common with other Hellenistic Jews cherished the hope that their religion might become world-wide, and for this reason had seen in Stephen and his adherents at Jerusalem men, who by preaching Jesus, might become formidable rivals. Just as at a later period persecution was raised against Paul himself, because his preaching in the synagogue was so attractive to the Gentiles, the future Apostle may have inspired the attack on Stephen; and this would explain his mission to Damascus, which was largely a heathen city.

In this way two factors, possibly unperceived by

himself, may have coöperated to produce the great change which we call the Conversion of St. Paul: dissatisfaction with the power of the Law to make him conform to the Will of God, and the realisation that the future religion of the world would be either Pharisaic Judaism, or the new belief in Jesus. To so ardent a spirit as his Jesus was absolutely wrong or absolutely right, and there was no middle way. Either the believers must be rooted out, or he must join their ranks.

His sudden, and so to speak, miraculous conversion has in modern times been employed to discredit the mental balance of St. Paul. The fall to earth, the bright light, the heavenly voice, the subsequent blindness, the abrupt change which followed, are used as proofs that the Apostle cannot be regarded as a normal human being, and consequently that his words and actions must be considered with some mistrust. But normal men have never yet seriously modified the course of history, nor directed the thought of mankind for many generations. The world is not changed by commonplace men with supremely average experiences. Paul was certainly abnormal in many ways. His health was evidently feeble, yet he lived to the verge of old age and endured hardships which would have killed most men with a perfect constitution. His visions, trances, periods of exaltation and depression, are such as are frequently experienced by exceptional individuals. If what he calls his 'thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan sent to buffet him' (2 Cor. xii. 7-9; *cf.* Gal. iv. 13) was a recurrence of epileptic fits, men who have merited for good or for ill the title of great have been similarly afflicted, as were Alfred

the Great of England and Napoleon. It is folly to deny greatness or to minimise the power of a man's influence, because he was not exactly like what a modern physician would wish his patients to be. But as this narrative will, I hope, disclose, the most abnormal fact about St. Paul was, not that he was, as alleged, an epileptic enthusiast, but that he possessed clearness of mind and a power of guiding men, and in addition an exceptional sanity of outlook, and that rare quality which we call common sense.

VI

BARNABAS AND SAUL

Outside the circle of the Twelve and the brethren of the Lord the most important of the early Christians was certainly Joseph surnamed Barnabas. Despite his two Hebraic appellations, and the fact that he joined the community of believers before Stephen and the Hellenists appeared on the scene in Jerusalem, Barnabas was a native of Cyprus and therefore a Greek-speaking Jew. In wealth and also in knowledge of the outside world he had an advantage over the simple Galileans who ranked as Apostles. When the brethren were attempting to organize themselves on communistic lines, Barnabas, we are told, sold a property in or near Jerusalem and gave the proceeds to help their experiment (Acts iv. 36-37). Mary, probably his sister (Col. iv. 10), owned a spacious house in the city in which the believers could assemble (Acts xii. 12). He was, therefore, in a sense a wealthy patron of the infant Church. He, Mary, and her son John Mark, are the first prominent figures outside the circle of those who had been personally associated with Jesus.

Little as we know about him, he appears to have had a most attractive personality with exceptional capacity for propagating the new religion. He evidently had an eye for men of ability who were likely to further the cause; and it was he who was the first to recognize the great qualities of Saul of Tarsus. So far as we are able to gather from the narrative of Acts viii-x, the preaching of the Seven and even of Peter was confined to Palestine, and it was Barnabas who transferred the

centre of missionary activity to Antioch in Syria, the capital of the entire East (Acts xi. 22-25). For some years St. Paul takes a very secondary place in comparison with Barnabas even in the missionary effort to reach the Gentiles. This fact, too frequently overlooked, is very significant.

It is a matter for regret that the only mention of Barnabas in the Acts is to be found in the sources employed by the writer, and not in his personal narrative. Even from these a somewhat consistent portrait is recognizable. He was a Levite, a native of Cyprus, surnamed Barnabas 'son of consolation or prophecy' by the Apostles. His first recorded act was as has been mentioned to sell land and give the money to the Church (Acts iv. 36-37). When the disciples at Jerusalem refused to believe in Paul's conversion, it was Barnabas who convinced them of its genuineness and brought the future Apostle to them 'taking him by the hand' (Acts ix. 27). Barnabas next appears at Antioch where certain other natives of Cyprus and also men from Cyrene had preached Jesus to the Hellenists. Having been sent by the Church of Jerusalem to investigate this new movement, Barnabas threw himself heartily into it, and recognizing that he needed assistance went to Tarsus, where Paul, according to Acts xi. 25, was living apparently with his family in retirement, and enlisted his help. In this connection a note of praise, rare in Acts, is given for Barnabas. 'He was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost and faith' (Acts xi. 24).

Barnabas was not unmindful of the needs of the Church which he had so materially assisted, when the famine foretold by Agabus occurred; and he took Saul

with him to Jerusalem with the contributions he had raised at Antioch. This marks a stage in the transference of influence from Jerusalem to the larger cities of the world, and the breaking up of the early Judæan form of the hope in Jesus and the birth of Christianity, by which name at this very time the Faith began to be known. The Church had originated as a community of devout and simple Israelites who clung to the Holy City and its Temple, and were content to live in poverty and obscurity on a common fund, making no provision for the future, with the result that a period of scarcity and high prices brought them to the verge of extinction. Thus the Christian community at Jerusalem became more increasingly dependent on the churches outside; and, despite its prestige as the first home of the faith and the scene of the death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord, gradually lost the authority it had at the first enjoyed. This was a distinct gain to the Church at large, which could now expand and be free to extend its influence in every part of the world, unfettered by the restraint of being under the conservative Judaism of Jerusalem.

I am personally disposed to believe that this visit of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem may mark a real crisis in the career of the great Apostle, as well as a turning point in the history of the Church. If Paul, as he says in Galatians, only visited the Holy City to see Cephas for fifteen brief days, this must have been his first real introduction to the Church. Accompanied by Barnabas, the most honoured representative of Hellenistic Christianity, and once more introduced as a friend whom Barnabas believed to be a chosen instrument of God for the conversion of the outside world, Paul must have

obtained a recognition which he had not previously enjoyed; and it is quite possible that Barnabas may have given the rulers of the Mother Church some idea of the work which the Antiochian Christians had in contemplation. At any rate, Barnabas and Saul returned 'to' or 'from' Jerusalem (the reading being uncertain) having fulfilled their ministry, taking with them John whose surname was Mark.[1]

This brings us to the momentous decision of the Church of Antioch, reached by its five leaders not without divine guidance.

Of these five, three are no more than names to us, though they are worthy of record. All were evidently Hellenistic Jews and represented different countries of the Dispersion. Barnabas came from Cyprus, Lucius from Cyrene, the province in North Africa next to Egypt, the country of Simeon surnamed Niger is not mentioned, nor that of Manäen the foster-brother of Herod Antipas, evidently a personage of social importance, who must at this time have been an elderly man; last on the list is Saul of Tarsus (Acts xiii. 1 - 3).

They are described as prophets and teachers and had evidently met in solemn conclave. Inspired by the Holy Spirit's words, 'Separate unto me Barnabas and Saul to the work unto which I have called them,' they fasted and prayed and, having laid their hands on them they sent them forth. The writer of Acts evidently desired us to realize the importance of this step. These

[1] The reading in Acts xii. 25 is *eis*—to, which makes no sense. Dr. Ropes in his note in *Beginnings*, vol. iii, p. 114, suggests that the preposition may mean 'at.' It has been suggested that in view of what Paul says in Galatians i, the author of Acts may have inadvertently inserted his name here and in Acts xi. 30.

five leaders of the Antiochian Church were undertaking a great task; and they realized something of its magnitude. They had spent a long time in supplication; and, as inspired prophets, they made the great decision which was no less than to inaugurate a Christian mission destined to extend to the whole world. The three pioneers of this great work were Barnabas, the representative of the earliest community at Jerusalem, Saul, once prominent as a leading Pharisee, now miraculously convinced that Jesus was his Lord, and the young kinsman of Barnabas, John Mark, who came as the assistant of the two older men. Like many other famous enterprises this mission began unambitiously. The scene was to be Cyprus, the native home of Barnabas. I do not believe that the Gentiles were included in this scheme of evangelization despite the fact that, before the three had started on their journey some missionaries of Christ, who were Cyprians and Cyrenians, are said (according to most authorities) to have spoken to the Greeks in the sense of heathen[1] (Acts xi. 20). Barnabas and Saul are said to have preached in Salamis, the most easterly city in Cyprus, 'in the synagogues of the Jews,' and there is no mention of Gentile converts. The approach to the outside world may possibly not have been the original idea, but an outgrowth, perhaps unexpected, of their expedition.

The island of Cyprus had long been known to the Asiatic world and is mentioned in the very early days of the Sumerian and Babylonian kings. It is the Kittim of the Old Testament: under the Greek domina-

[1] The oldest manuscripts have *Hellenists*, the majority *Hellenes*—Greeks or heathen. The versions cannot help in the subtle distinction between the two words. The preaching to Greeks does not necessarily mean that Gentile churches were being founded for them.

tion of Egypt it became an appanage of the Ptolemys, sometimes as an independent kingdom ruled by a member of the family. It came under Roman rule in B.C. 58. Its chief deity was Aphrodite, or Venus, who was supposed to have risen out of the sea on the shore of the island. Her principal shrine was at the western end at Paphos. But the goddess worshipped was not *the beauteous Aphrodite of Greece, nor Venus the* ancestress of the Julian family in Rome, though both were adored in her. Her shrine contained no fair image of a woman but a conical-shaped stone, reminding us of the 'image' of the Diana or Artemis of Ephesus who was really some Asiatic divinity represented by the stone 'which fell from heaven.' The Cyprian goddess was probably originally from Syria, the Astarte or Ishtar of the Semites and their neighbours. The Jews of Cyprus were certainly numerous. Herod the Great obtained from Augustus a valuable concession of the copper mines in the island, and both Philo and Josephus imply that it was largely peopled by Jewish settlers. Later, the Jews were so numerous, formidable and ferocious that in the days of Trajan in A.D. 116, they are said to have murdered no less than two hundred and forty thousand Greek inhabitants. For this they were forbidden in future to so much as land on the island. Cyprus produced in Zeno the philosopher whose stern morality seems to have had an affinity to that of St. Paul, and in the fourth century possessed the very learned Christian bishop St. Epiphanius. It has twice passed into the hands of an English monarch, once in the days of that crusading king, Richard I, who captured it from Isaac Comnenus in 1191, and afterwards sold it to the Knights of the

Temple, and again in 1878 when it was ceded by the Turks to Queen Victoria. The Church of Cyprus has long been 'autocephalous,' that is, independent of all external authority and subject only to its archbishop.

Barnabas, Saul and Mark, we are told, traversed the whole of this fertile and populous island, which contained several important cities, but Acts gives no account of their adventures, and says nothing of the success of their mission till they reached the western shore and arrived at Paphos, then the seat of the Roman government, where a momentous crisis in their mission occurred.

The 'Deputy,' as he is styled in the Authorized Version which gives him the title then applied to the viceroy of Ireland, was Sergius Paulus, who is described in Acts as 'a man of understanding.' In Greek he is called *anthupatos*, the equivalent of the Latin *Proconsul*. This shows the accuracy of the historian. Since the days of Augustus the Roman provinces had been divided between the Emperor and the Senate. The arrangement was that those which required a military force should be governed by a man nominated by Cæsar, and that the more settled and lucrative provinces should remain in the hands of the Senate who appointed a proconsul to administer them. Some years before Cyprus had been an imperial province, but an exchange had been effected and Sergius Paulus is correctly given the proconsular designation.

He had by him a Jew named Bar-Jesus, who is described as a magician and a false prophet, and is not unnaturally compared to Simon Magus, whom Peter rebuked when he went with John to confirm Philip's converts in Samaria. But the circumstances as given in

the two accounts in Acts are so different that the comparison appears to be somewhat superficial. Simon was possibly not a Jew at all, but a man who claimed supernatural gifts as 'the power of God which is called Great.' His offence was, not that he withstood Peter, on the contrary, he accepted baptism, but that he saw in the Apostle's gift of the Holy Spirit a more powerful magic than he himself possessed, and offered money to purchase it (Acts viii. 9-24). Bar-Jesus, on the other hand, is represented as a Jewish rival of the preaching of Barnabas and Saul, who strove to prevent the Proconsul from accepting their message, and nothing is said of his exercising any magical power, but that he was a 'magus,' and also a false prophet in contrast with the true prophets Barnabas and Saul. I venture to suggest that Sergius Paulus had a Jewish teacher in his household, because he was interested in that religion; and Bar-Jesus, as Josephus did when taken captive by Vespasian at a later time, professed to be a prophet and doubtless invested with miraculous powers. But on this occasion all that Bar-Jesus did was to endeavour to 'turn the proconsul from the faith.' This looks as though he were a Jewish rabbi opposed to the new doctrines.

If, however, Bar-Jesus, as his other name of Elymas or Etoimos may imply, was a magician, his connection with Sergius Paulus would be an indication of the superstition of the higher classes in the Roman world as well as of the conflict between Christianity, and the charlatans who regarded it as a species of rival magic. A Sergius Paulus is mentioned as interested in natural history by Pliny the Elder, who wrote about twenty years later than the mission to Cyprus; and if he is the

same person his inquiring mind may have led him to take an interest in Judaism, especially as at this time there was evidently some attraction in that religion for the educated Roman world. Its profession of a lofty morality, its worship of a nameless God who had no image and could only be conceived by faith contributed to its success, and in addition there was a feeling that the Jew, repulsive as he might appear to many, had powers which were denied to other men. Both causes may have contributed to bring Bar-Jesus to the Proconsul, whose curiosity may have led him to send for the newly-arrived preachers of what he regarded as some new form of Judaism.[1]

It was the opposition of Bar-Jesus which brought Paul to the front. As we read:

'But Saul, who is also Paul, filled with a holy spirit fixed his eyes on him and said, O thou who are filled with all craft and cunning, son of the devil, enemy of all righteous, wilt thou not cease to turn aside the right ways of the Lord?' (Acts xiii. 9, 10).

The author of Acts here gives the Apostle the name by which he was destined henceforth to be known. Much ingenuity has been expended since the days of the early fathers of the Church to account for the change. Some suggest that Saul became Paul in compliment to Sergius Paulus, or it may be that his father had been a client or freedman of the family of Paulus; it is also suggested that the Apostle was then known because of his diminu-

[1] The story of the conversion of Sergius Paulus is full of difficulties. It is curious that we never hear, even in tradition, of so distinguished a convert. Bar-Jesus is a mysterious figure and the name Elymas, Etumas, or Etoimos is, to say the least, strange.

tive stature and frail appearance. All, however, we can be sure of, as has been said before, is that in common with many of his countrymen, he had a Jewish and a Gentile name and that when he took the lead in carrying the Gospel outside of Israel he was called Paul by the sacred historian, and he himself uses this name in his Epistles.

The occasion of its employment in Acts is sufficiently dramatic. Inspired by the spirit when opposed by the false prophet, Paul, no longer Saul, takes the first place and retains it till the end of the book. He concludes his solemn rebuke with the words, 'And behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee; and thou shalt be blind and not see the sun for a time. And immediately there fell on him a mist and darkness and he went around looking for someone to guide him' (Acts xiii. 11 - 12). This is the first miracle by Paul on record. It was such a one as a prophet was expected to inflict. There are several Jewish stories of the encounters between orthodox and Christian rabbis in which signs and wonders play a part. It is of little use trying to rationalize or explain them away. They were looked for, and they occurred. The name of Jesus, and, not much later the Sign of the Cross, had supernatural power and Christians were undoubtedly strengthened in their faith by the belief that their Lord was more powerful than the demons which their adversaries invoked against Him. At the sign wrought upon the enemy of Jesus, the Proconsul became a believer, 'being amazed at the doctrine of the Lord.' Whether this statement can be taken literally or not is an open question. Sir William Ramsay thinks that there is antiquarian evidence to show that there were possibly descendants of

his in Asia Minor who later professed the Christian name; Renan considers that Paul was misled as to the 'conversion' of the Proconsul because he gave audience to what must have seemed to him, as a man of the world, the preaching of a somewhat interesting enthusiast. Nothing is told us of the subsequent history of so eminent a convert, and it is, to say the least, strange that he plays no part in Christian legend, especially when there exists an alleged correspondence between the Apostle and the contemporary statesman and philosopher Seneca. Nor is there any mention of the baptism of Sergius Paulus in Acts or elsewhere.

It is worthy of notice that nothing is said in Acts of any converts in this mission to Cpyrus being baptized, of of a church being founded in the island. This seems to confirm the theory that the object of the preachers was to proclaim the Messiahship of Jesus to Jews only and not to persuade them to form any Christian communities. The time had not come to invite the Jews to change their religion in any sense. All they were asked to do was to believe that God had raised up Jesus as His Messiah and the Saviour of the nation, and to look for His speedy return in glory to restore the redeemed of Israel. It was probably not till after the astonishing success of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles of Asia Minor that they set themselves to establish churches. Therefore, it seems that the 'conversion' of Sergius Paulus was no more than that he believed the news that God had sent a Deliverer into the world and confirmed the fact by raising Him from the dead. But any view of the incident must be purely based upon conjecture. All that can be confidently affirmed is that after meeting Sergius Paulus, the

Apostle Paul appears in the light of the unquestionable leader of the expedition. The narrative of Acts brings forward prominently, 'Now when they had put to sea from Paphos, Paul's company (those about Paul) came to Perga in Pamphylia' (Acts xiii. 13). From this time Barnabas plays an entirely secondary rôle. That he, the senior, permitted this, is not only a proof of his recognition of the spiritual power and fitness to command of the colleague he himself had brought into prominence, but of his singularly amiable disposition.

But if Barnabas was too high-minded to show resentment, it was probably not so with his young kinsman John Mark, who may have been more important in the mission than the word 'minister' would appear to imply. At any rate, directly Paul became the leader, Mark withdrew and sailed back to Jerusalem.

Why he did so we are not informed. It has been suggested that he shrank from the hardships of a journey through a wild country, notoriously infested by robbers. Or that he may have felt that the expedition as designed at Antioch was restricted to Cyprus and that he was under no obligation to go any further. It is possible also that, as a native of Jerusalem, and a member of the apostolic circle, he hesitated to embark on an enterprise not sanctioned by the Mother Church. But it is no easy thing to judge the motives even of one of our personal friends, when he decides on some course of action, especially if we disapprove; and it is impossible, if not unprofitable, to do this when both the person and the attendant circumstances are so far removed from our ken. All we can be tolerably sure of is that later the retirement of Mark led to complications between Paul and Barnabas, when the ardent

spirit of Paul pressed him onward to ever-widening spheres of missionary enterprise (Acts xv. 36 - 39). But when Paul, Barnabas and Mark reached the mainland at Perga in Pamphylia, and Mark had gone home, the two others determined to proceed inland and to carry the Gospel into districts possibly entirely unknown to both of them. It is at this point that the wonderful labours of Paul really commence with all their tremendous consequences to the Christian religion, and to the whole subsequent history of mankind.

VII

PAUL APPROACHES THE GENTILES

HAVING for some unknown reason been abandoned by their younger colleague John Mark, Paul and Barnabas embarked on an enterprise more perilous than the preaching to the Jews in Cyprus where Barnabas at least was well known. Apparently they did nothing in Perga, but proceeded inland to a city called Antioch of Pisidia or Pisidian Antioch.[1] The narrative in Acts is disappointingly brief. All we have to go upon are these words, 'And they passing through from Perga *came to Antioch the Pisidian, and going into the synagogue* on the Sabbath they sat down' (Acts xiii. 14). Much has been written about the country, the journey from Perga and the history and site of this Antioch, but the real problem is why, on this occasion, Paul and Barnabas, instead of visiting the cities around Perga, struck into the heart of Asia Minor and travelled through a most difficult country by mountainous roads, frequented by robber bands, made additionally perilous by the flooding of the rivers, and traversed a little populated country. It was not apparently the custom of St. Paul to leave the beaten track of commerce, unless later he made a journey similar to this into the districts of Galatia proper. There must have been some special reason unknown to us why he decided to go to so remote a place as this Antioch. Perhaps there was some

[1] The common reading is Antioch of Pisidia. Nevertheless the best manuscripts have 'Antioch the Pisidian.' Antioch was not in Pisidia (Ramsay *Church in The Roman Empire*, p. 25). Here it is well to remind the reader that in Acts sometimes the districts of Asia Minor are called after the old nationalities, at others are Roman Provinces. Pisidia, Lycaonia etc., are districts; Galatia, Asia, etc., provinces.

connection with the Jews there which drew the two Apostles, or Paul or Barnabas had friends in the city. At any rate, the visit to Antioch was a great crisis in the history of Christian missionary work as the sequel will show.

Paul and Barnabas entered the synagogue and seated themselves among the congregation, and it is noteworthy that here and in Luke iv. 16-30 we have perhaps the earliest account of a Jewish service. In both places the address was given after the reading of the Scriptures, and at Antioch it is expressly said that Paul and Barnabas were invited to address the people, 'After the reading of the law and the prophets.' It was evidently a mixed assembly consisting of Jews and Gentiles interested in the worship of Israel and addressing their prayers as Cornelius did (Acts x. 2) to its God. It may be, as has been suggested, that Paul or Barnabas had friends in Antioch, or that their reputation as preachers had preceded them; anyhow, the rulers of the synagogue called upon them to give a word of exhortation. Thereupon Paul stood up and with a characteristic motion of the hand made the following address.

We cannot have a verbatim report of what Paul said in the twenty-seven verses (Acts xiii. 15-41) which contain his sermon. It must be a summary, or possibly a free composition, on the part of the writer. But whatever the origin of the speeches in Acts may be they are always constructed with skill, and appropriate to the occasion. Justice, moreover, is done to the versatility of the Apostle here and elsewhere; for what he said at Anticoh is as well adapted to a synagogue as his words are at Athens to an educated Greek audi-

ence: his address here is quite different from the words put into the mouth of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii), and to a certain extent resembles the defence of Stephen before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem. It deserves particular attention as a specimen of the argument a Christian preacher presented to the Jews.

In one respect this discourse resembles that of Stephen, in being constructed on the model of those Psalms which recount the special mercies of God to His People.

'*Hear me, ye men of Israel and ye who reverence its* God. The God of this people Israel chose our fathers, and raised up (exalted) the people as they abode in the land of Egypt and with his arm raised up he led them out of it; and he bore with them (or carried them)[1] forty years in the wilderness, and when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan he gave them their land for about four hundred and fifty years. After that he gave them judges till the prophet Samuel. Then they asked for a king, and for forty years he gave them Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin. And after he had removed him he raised up David to be the king, to whom he gave testimony and said, I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, who shall fulfil all my will' (Acts. xiii. 16 - 22).

It seems to have been customary to preface a discourse by reciting God's mercies to Israel; for we find the same in the defence of Stephen and in the recitals

[1] The readings differ both in Acts and in the Septuagint, of Deut. i. 31. The Hebrew is 'carried them'; the Greek for 'carried' or 'suffered their manners' varies only by a single letter.

of the acts of faith in old time in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Special stress was laid on the early history recorded in the Law, because that was the real Bible of Israel. Probably in a fully reported sermon this section would have been much longer; here it is necessarily condensed, but the way the mention of David is arrived at cannot fail to remind us of the Seventy-Eighth Psalm. The importance of David is that besides being the ancestor of the expected Messiah, he had foretold His coming. The proclamation of Jesus as the Messiah is then made:

'Of this man's seed God, according to promise, has brought to Israel a saviour, even Jesus, John having proclaimed before his coming a baptism of repentance to the people of Israel. And while John was fulfilling his course he was wont to say, Whom think ye that I am? I am not He, but, lo, there cometh after me one whose shoelace I am unworthy to loose. Brethren, of the race of Abraham, and you who reverence (His) God, to you is sent this word of salvation' (Acts xiii. 23-26.

It is here to be observed that though the death and resurrection of Jesus is assumed to be unknown, even at Pisidian Antioch, the Baptist was a familiar figure. The great importance given to John in Acts is hard to account for unless his appearance had produced more stir in the Jewish world than did that of Jesus. It is remarkable, however, that his name never occurs in a Pauline or any other Epistle in the New Testament, nor even in the Apocalypse. The use of the word 'course,' though found in the Septuagint, may indicate

that the reporter of his speech was acquainted with his fondness for metaphors taken from the Greek games.[1]

Paul goes on to speak of the death of Jesus:

'For those who dwell in Jerusalem and their rulers, because they did not know this man (Jesus) nor the meaning of the prophets who are read every Sabbath have fulfilled (the prophecies) by condemning him. And though they found no pretext for his death, they requested Pilate that he might be killed. And when they had accomplished all that had been written about him they took him down from the cross and placed him in a tomb. But God raised him from the dead. And he appeared for many days to those who had come up from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses to the people (Acts xiii. 27 - 31).'

The general purpose of the argument is that of Peter's speech to Cornelius and his friends; but it appears to be utterly unlike what Paul himself would have said. It is not necessary to dwell on the fact that later he connects the death on the cross with a new life of freedom from the Law rather than with the fulfilment of prophecy; the important point is that the Apostle's own peculiar attitude to the Resurrection is that he himself has seen the Lord Jesus. In addition to this the whole argument is unsuitable. It is virtually telling a Pisidian congregation that if they doubted his statement they could go to Palestine and investigate the

[1] It has been pointed out to me that this metaphor is by no means exclusively Pauline and that the words 'I have finished my course' (II Tim. iv. 7) occur in a doubtful epistle. Still I remain convinced that there is an attempt to give a Pauline colouring to the speech.

matter among the eye-witnesses of the risen Jesus, whereas we know that Paul considered himself to have been in close communication with the Master. This section must therefore belong to apostolic preaching *in or near Jerusalem, and cannot have been* part of any synagogue address by St. Paul in a distant province. The conclusion is the special message to Israel:

'And now we tell you good news, that God has fulfilled his promise made to your fathers to us their children by raising Jesus from the dead, according to what stands written in the second Psalm

'Thou art my son
'This day have I begotten thee'

But that he raised him from the dead, destined never to suffer corruption, he hath said

'I will give you the holy things of David, which are assured.' And elsewhere he says:

'*Thou shalt not give thy Holy One to see corruption.*' Now David served the will of God in his own generation and fell asleep, and was laid with his fathers, and saw corruption. But he whom God raised up saw no corruption (Acts xiii. 32 - 37).

'Let this be known to you, my brethren, that through this man forgiveness of sins is announced to you, and that from all things from which you could not obtain acquittal (be justified) by the law of Moses every one who believes in this man obtains it.

'Beware therefore that there come not upon you what the prophets said:

'Look to it, ye scorners, be amazed and disappear! For I am doing a deed in your days,

'A deed you will not believe though one declared it plainly to you' (Acts xiii. 32 - 41).

This is the same pronouncement as that found in Peter's speech on the day of Pentecost, namely, that Jesus has been raised from the dead to a life which can never know decay (Acts ii. 29 - 36).

It has been necessary to dwell at some length on this sermon because of the extraordinary effect it produced. And here it is well to notice how consistent the book of Acts is in maintaining that it was not the preaching of Jesus as the Christ, nor even of His resurrection which offended the Jews. The whole congregation is represented as charmed by the address. Rulers and all seem to have been agreed that Paul must preach again. An eager crowd of Jews and proselytes followed him and Barnabas, who encouraged them to remain firm in their acceptance of God's gracious message. The account says nothing of any Gentiles being converted, or even as yet becoming interested in the message of the Apostles.

But evidently little else was talked of during the ensuing week. The Greeks themselves were as keen as the members of the synagogue to know about this wonderful Jewish preacher's message. On the next Sabbath 'Almost all the city assembled to hear the word of God.' This, as the sequel shows, was as great a surprise to Paul and Barnabas as it was to the Jews. Except for the baptism of the centurion Cornelius, the doubtful reading of *Hellenas* (Greeks) or *Hellenists* in Acts xi. 20, and the believing of Sergius Paulus, who had been under the influence of Elymas Bar-Jesus, and therefore knew something of Judaism as

did Cornelius, nothing has been said of Gentile converts. But at Pisidian Antioch the missionaries of Christ discovered that the Gentiles were as eager to learn about Jesus as the Jews.

What follows, the last verses of the thirteenth chapter of Acts, is of the utmost importance, for it marks the real beginning of Gentile Christianity, that is, of the Christian religion as we know it.

The Jews of Pisidian Antioch, seeing how attractive the preaching of Jesus was to the Gentiles, were filled with fury and spoke blasphemously of what Paul was saying. At this Paul and Barnabas took an open and definite stand.

"It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you, but since you are thrusting it from you, and do not judge yourselves to be worthy of everlasting life, behold we are turning to the Gentiles. For the Lord has given us this command:

"I have set thee a light of the Gentiles

"That thou mightest be for salvation unto the remotest part of the world"' (Acts xiii. 46-47).

This meant that Paul and Barnabas had resolved upon setting up of a church for the Gentiles, if the Jews refused the message of the Gospel. It is here that the career of St. Paul really commences; and even his genius can hardly have appreciated the tremendous consequences of his action. For it meant the inauguration of a policy to create churches separate from Judaism, destined to produce a Gentile Christianity which ultimately spread throughout the world and entirely supplanted the original preaching of the

Messiahship of Jesus as an exclusively Jewish belief. The Jews, and even the Jewish believers in Jesus, realized the danger, hence the bitterness with which they pursued Paul to the end of his life.

It appears that the missionaries stayed a considerable time in Pisidian Antioch, for 'the word of the Lord was being spread abroad through the whole district' (Acts xiii. 49). The Jews, powerless to prevent what was being accomplished by force, had recourse to intrigue. Women had much influence in Asia Minor, and many had been attracted by Judaism, which was accomplishing a great work of proselytizing in the households of rich and respected ladies. Some of these were persuaded to excite the magistrates against Paul and Barnabas. Persecution was the result, and the Apostles were driven out as disturbers of the peace. In obedience to the command of Jesus they shook off the dust from their feet and went to Iconium, leaving behind them a group of enthusiastic disciples.

The condition of Asia Minor was not unfavourable to the propagation of a new religion. Despite the prevalence of brigandage, the people were well contented with the Roman government, and often keenly alive to the benefit its well-ordered despotism had brought to their country.[1] It was there that the worship of the genius of Rome and Cæsar was inaugurated and organized on lines which remind us of the subsequent government of the Church. The people, diverse as they were, were extremely susceptible to religious emotions; for the peninsula was the home of the chief personal religions of the West. The worship of the

[1] The 'ecclesiastical' organization of the priesthood created for the worship of Augustus is well described by Professor Duckworth in *Beginnings*, vol. 1, pp. 199-216.

Great Mother (Cybele) came from Galatia to Rome, and the soldiers found in their chosen 'lord' Mithras the worship of the pirates suppressed by Pompey in Cilicia. The first stronghold of Gentile Christianity was in Asia Minor, which for centuries proved the birth-place of the great fathers of the East.

The rest of the journey of Paul and Barnabas is not only marked, as hitherto, by the preaching of Jesus, but by the formal establishment of Christian Churches for Gentile believers.

Expelled from Antioch the missionaries left Pisidia and, entering the Roman province of Galatia, arrived at Iconium, already a very considerable city and later the capital of the first Turkish kingdom in Asia Minor. Little is related of what happened there; but it was evidently made a centre for the apostolic preaching, which had much success with both Jews and Gentiles. It is recorded that Paul and Barnabas wrought many miracles in the district, nothing having been said previously of any wonders except the blinding of Elymas Bar-Jesus in Cyprus. The mention of the 'Signs and wonders' (Acts xiv. 3) is in itself a proof that the mission was successful, and it may here be remarked that, whilst there is a singular absence of miraculous stories about St. Paul in Acts, there can be no doubt that whenever a great religious teacher appeared miracles were expected of him, and usually happened. It is no exaggeration that such things did not help the propagation of a new faith as much as we might expect; and it was perfectly natural that, when Paul and Barnabas healed a lame man at Lystra, the very people who had been ready to worship them as gods, should be equally eager subsequently to stone them.

But if history is silent about Paul at Iconium, legend has been busy. One of the most popular tales about him is how a damsel named Thecla heard him preach, and actually embarrassed him by her desire to obtain baptism at his hands, dressing as a boy in the hope of being allowed to accompany the Apostle. Thecla is said to have been exposed to the beasts and to have braved martyrdom, but escaped and died at an advanced age. But that which is of most interest to us, in the midst of the improbabilities of the story, is that it contains a possibly authentic description of the appearance of Paul, who is described as:

'A short man, bandy-legged, healthy-looking, with his eyebrows meeting each other, inclined to be red-haired, of gracious presence.'

Evidently the work at Iconium was in the main successful and caused no little sensation. After a time the city was divided into two factions, the partisans of the Faith and their Jewish heathen opponents. Paul and Barnabas were in danger of their lives and were compelled to make their escape to the lesser cities of Lycaonia where they carried on their missionary labours among the heathen, for there is no mention as at Pisidian Antioch and Iconium of any preaching in the synagogue (Acts xiv. 8 - 20). Paul, however, found a welcome, according to the Pastoral Epistles, in one semi-Jewish household, that of Lois and her daughter Eunice, who had married a heathen and was the mother of Timothy, who later became his faithful companion (II Tim. i. 5).

At Lystra a miracle was wrought the attendant cir-

cumstances of which are interesting as illustrative of the character of the labours of Christian missionaries among the heathen.

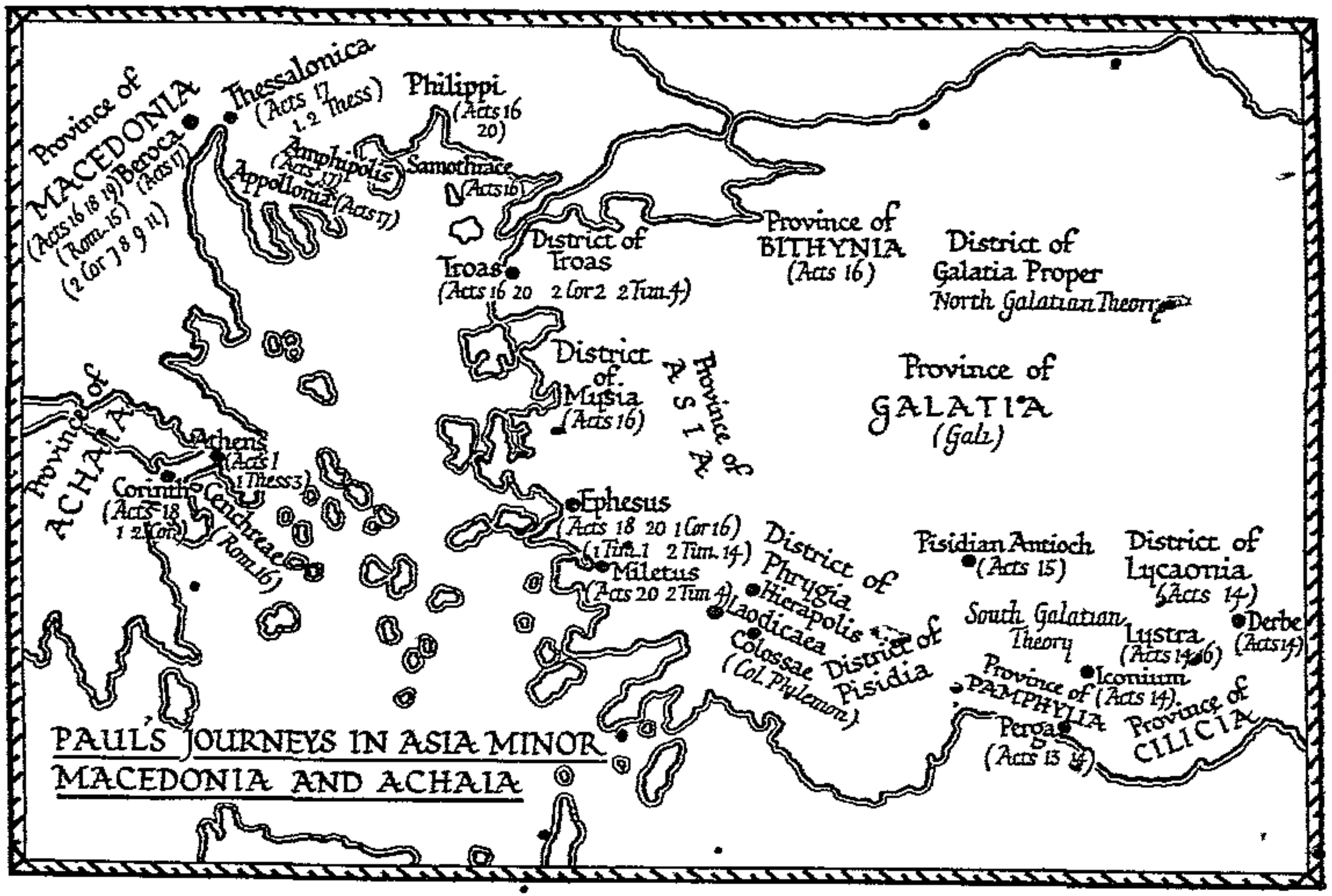
A lame man was listening to Paul as he spoke, and the Apostle, gazing at him and realizing that he had the faith necessary to be cured, said in a loud voice, Rise up on thy feet.' Thereupon the man leapt up and walked about. Similar experiences of what is known as 'faith healing' have occurred in our own day; but the crowd recognized divine power in the event and cried out in Lycaonian, 'The gods have come down in appearance as men.' The appearance of gods or heroes in form was not altogether unexpected in heathen antiquity; and in Christian times the saints have been similarly manifested. Twice had Zeus (Jupiter) and Hermes (Mercury) been supposed to visit Lycaonia. Once in the terrible tale of Lycaon who entertained them by setting human flesh on the table, for which crime he was turned into a wolf (*lykos*), and again in the beautiful legend of Baucis and Philemon, the poor couple, who were the only ones to receive the gods with hospitality, and as a reward were allowed to die at the same time, that neither should survive to bemoan the loss of the other. The healing of the lame man convinced the people of Lystra that these gods had again vouchsafed to come among them. If the description of St. Paul, mentioned above, is correct, it was natural that he should be recognized as Hermes or Mercury, the active messenger and spokesman of the gods, whilst Barnabas, probably the more dignified in appearance, whose superior rank was attested by his silence, was acclaimed as Jupiter. A sacrifice was hastily organized which the Apostles, ignorant of the meaning of what

the populace were shouting in Lycaonian, were unable to prevent till all was ready. Seeing what was being done the Apostles, for thus they are called for the first time, rent their clothes and rushed forward with this indignant protest, Barnabas on this occasion, taking the lead:

'Gentlemen: What are you doing? We are men as you are, and our message of good news is that you should turn away from these vanities to serve a God who is alive, who made heaven and earth and the sea and all that is in them. This God in past times let the nations go their own way. But all the same he never left himself without witness, by doing you good when *he* sent rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with good and gladnesses (*i.e.*, giving you food and causing your hearts to rejoice)' (Acts xiv. 15 - 17).

The whole account of this affair at Lystra is obviously so much more vividly described than anything else we have been told concerning the adventures of Paul and Barnabas, that it is permissible to suppose that the writer, at least, here had a better source of information, possibly Timothy. The words addressed by Barnabas and Paul to the people, when they were about to sacrifice, remind us of Paul's words in the Epistle to the Romans, that men ought to have recognized God's power and goodness in nature (Rom. 1. 20). From what was said we may reasonably infer that the heathen inhabitants of Lystra were first approached by a proclamation of the supremacy of God rather than by the preaching of Jesus which would naturally follow.

When the Jews of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium had found whither Paul and Barnabas had gone, they followed them to Lystra. There they incited the heathen population against them and a serious riot ensued. It is said that Paul was stoned; but this must mean not with the formality of a Jewish stoning, but pelted by the mob, and dragged out of the city as though he were dead (Acts xiv. 19). He, however, revived, re-entered Lystra, and was able on the following day to start for Derbe. There he and Barnabas carried on a successful work among the people for some time, unmolested by their enemies, who apparently supposed that Paul, at any rate, was dead.


Province of MACEDONIA
(Acts 16 18 19) (Rom. 15) (2 Cor 7 8 9 11)
Thessalonica (Acts 17) 1, 2 Thess)
Philippi (Acts 16 20)
Berœa (Acts 17)
Amphipolis (Acts 17)
Apollonia (Acts 17)
Samothrace (Acts 16)
Troas (Acts 16 20 2 Cor 2 2 Tim 4)
District of Troas
Province of BITHYNIA (Acts 16)
District of Galatia Proper
North Galatian Theory
Province of ASIA
District of Mysia (Acts 16)
Province of GALATIA (Gal.)
Province of ACHAIA
Athens (Acts 1 1 Thess 3)
Corinth (Acts 18 1 2 Cor)
Cenchreae (Rom 16)
Ephesus (Acts 18 20 1 Cor 16) (1 Tim. 1 2 Tim. 14)
Miletus (Acts 20 2 Tim 4)
District of Phrygia
Hierapolis
Laodicæa
Colossæ (Col. Philemon)
District of Pisidia
Pisidian Antioch (Acts 15)
District of Lycaonia (Acts 14)
South Galatian Theory
Lystra (Acts 14 16)
Derbe (Acts 14)
Iconium (Acts 14)
Province of PAMPHYLIA
Perga (Acts 13 14)
Province of CILICIA

PAUL'S JOURNEYS IN ASIA MINOR
MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA

VIII

CONVERSION OF THE GENTILES

THE scantiness of his material is the chief difficulty of the historian of St. Paul's career, and consequently what at first sight seems a brief and dull catalogue of events has often to be regarded as of significance.

Three very matter-of-fact verses at the conclusion of the fourteenth chapter of Acts describe one of the major crises in the whole history of Christianity.

'And when they had preached the Gospel in that city (Derbe) and had made many disciples, they went back to Lystra, and to Iconium and Antioch, establishing the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to remain firm in the faith and telling them "We must enter into God's kingdom by many afflictions." And having appointed elders for them in every church, they prayed with fasting and committed them to the care of the Lord in whom they had believed' (Acts xiv. 21 - 23).

It is not easy to account for the decision of the Apostles, not, as we might have expected, to go on from Derbe to Tarsus through the pass known as the Cilician Gates, and so to the Syrian Antioch, but to return eastward through the old scene of their labours. It required no small courage to go back to places from which they had been expelled and where their enemies would naturally have been on the watch for them. One reason why this journey could have been possible is, as has been suggested in the previous chapter, that the Jews

who had raised the tumult at Lystra may have believed that Paul had been killed, and therefore could give no further trouble. The visits to Lystra, Iconium and Antioch must necessarily have been paid silently in order not to arouse the suspicion of the Jews, and therefore it is possible that the little communities or churches which Paul and Barnabas organized were composed, at least chiefly, of Gentile converts. As to what arrangements were made we must be content to remain in ignorance. We do not even know whether 'laying on of hands' means appointment or ordination, nor whether the elders corresponded to the rulers of the synagogue or not. All we can be sure of is that they were solemnly with prayer and fasting (*cf.* Acts xiii. 2) entrusted with their duties. But the great step had been taken; and these little bodies of believers were the first-fruits of the subsequently world-embracing Church.

We have now to consider a most important question, namely, Paul's idea of a Gentile Christian community. But before doing so it is necessary to state that there are several problems the solution of which must at least later be attempted. First there is one of chronology – How long did this mission last? From hints in Acts about evangelizing whole districts Paul and Barnabas must have been some time in the Lycaonian country. Next one must ask who were the 'Galatians' whom Paul evangelized and to whom he subsequently wrote? Were they the people mentioned in Acts who lived within the limits of the Roman province of Galatia or the Gauls who dwelt to the north and gave their name to the country? Lastly, it is an open question whether this letter to the Galatians is the earliest of the Pauline

epistles and belongs to this period, or to a later time in the Apostle's career.[1]

But these points can wait discussion till after we have investigated what Paul says in his Epistle to the Galatians and elsewhere on the subject of the Gentile members of the Christian Church. His opinion on this subject is of supreme importance; because his theological views come into prominence as he discusses it.

Our first step must be to try and imagine a church purely Jewish, the only members of Gentile birth being proselytes in the full sense of the term, *i.e.*, Gentiles who had completely identified themselves with Judaism. When a Jew believed in Jesus as the Messiah and probably looked for Him to return almost immediately, he would not naturally feel that he was free of all obligation to observe the Law. On the contrary, accepting it as he did as the revelation of God's will, he would be more disposed to obey its precepts. Thus the typical primitive Jewish Christian was James the Just (*i.e.*, the righteous observer of the Law), the Lord's brother. Till the day of his martyrdom in a time of the most intense religious and political excitement, he was held in intense reverence by the Jewish people, though, if, as many believed, the Epistle which bears his name be genuine, his brother was to him 'Our Lord Jesus the Messiah.'[2] This devotion to the Law and their con-

[1] The Roman province of Galatia stretched almost across the peninsula of Asia Minor, and included the cities visited by Paul and Barnabas. The date of the letter as well as its destination is disputed. It is unnecessary here to discuss these obscure but interesting problems, when the question is Paul's relation to the Gentile churches.

[2] Our complete ignorance of the circumstances under which the Epistle of James was written prevents a dogmatic declaration that it could not have been the work of the Lord's brother. The Greek is polished, but at the same time the letter is full of reminiscences of the Sermon on the Mount, and of the homely illustrations in which Jesus Himself delighted.

stant attendance at the Temple accounts for the statement in *Acts* that the disciples had favour with all the people in Jerusalem. It also accounts for the number of priests who became 'obedient to the faith'; and explains St. Peter's words that he had never eaten anything that was 'common or unclean' (Acts x. 14). In short, the natural consequence of a Jew acknowledging Jesus as the Hope of Israel was to make him more scrupulous in obeying the Law than he had ever been before.

But, with the success of the mission of Paul and Barnabas, the Gentiles were prepared to enter the Church, or new Israel of God, and the question was on what terms were they to be accepted as the servants of Jesus. Before going farther, we may review the situation as it is described in Acts. At Jerusalem a church, or it may be called also a *synagogue* of believers, had been formed, first under the guidance of the Twelve, and later under that of James the Lord's brother. The members were strict Jews and were represented by devout priests and even by Pharisees. By baptizing Cornelius and his friends, Gentiles who worshipped the God of Israel, Peter had extended the scope of the Gospel, but *nothing farther in that direction is related* as having been accomplished. The Hellenistic believers in Jesus had been very active among their brethren and had converted many in Damascus, Palestine, Samaria, Syria, and Cilicia, and had established a strong centre in Antioch the metropolis of the East. Thence the missionaries had started for Cyprus and preached Jesus in the synagogues throughout the island. When they had done this they crossed to Perga in Pamphylia, and pushed boldly across the mountains

to Antioch in Pisidia. There Paul and Barnabas found the Jews hostile but the Gentiles enthusiastic, and declared that 'henceforth they would turn to the Gentiles.' This aroused bitter resentment, and the Jews drove them to Lystra and Derbe in the wilds of Lycaonia. Wherever they went the Gentiles flocked to hear them, and instead of returning to Syria by the direct route they deliberately, as has been indicated, braved the risk of returning to the very cities where they had been in constant danger of their lives in order to found communities of Gentiles whom they had converted. Finally, they reached the Syrian Antioch to announce the great and unexpected success of their mission, and their conviction that Christianity could become a Gentile and not an exclusively Jewish religion. Bearing this in mind we are able to realize the way in which this new conception of the belief in Jesus influenced St. Paul and how he became pre-eminently the Apostle of the Gentiles.

It is interesting to observe that, according to his own account, Paul embarked on the great enterprise of his life after deliberation.[1] He retired for some time to Arabia. It was three years before he went off to Jerusalem, and he then appears to have betaken himself to Syria and Cilicia (Gal. i. 16*ff.*). According to Acts, he was living in his native city of Tarsus when Barnabas summoned him to Antioch. There he was recognized as a Christian 'prophet,' that is, as a man through whom God's spirit spoke to the Church (Acts xiii. 1). For long he was content to play a secondary part under Barnabas. At last at Paphos

[1] For the complicated questions of Paul's visits to Jerusalem, see *Beginnings*, vol. ii, p. 153ff. The reader must bear in mind what has been said in Chapter VI of this work.

Paul is said to have been 'filled with the Spirit,' the false prophet was rebuked, and the Proconsul converted by him. From this time his leadership is unquestioned.

The success of his labours among the Gentiles now confirmed Paul's conviction that he was an instrument in the hands of God and that his duty was to act under the guidance of the Divine Spirit. His conversion was not in any sense the work of man: he owed nothing to any human agency. Jesus had appeared to him in person and still was directing his every action. He looked to no man for direction but to God alone, and he felt himself as truly an Apostle as those who had lived with Jesus during His ministry on earth. Paul was convinced that God had given him a special sphere of work, and no mortal should interfere with him so long as God's Spirit was his guide. This helps to account for the fact that Paul persistently maintained that he had never learned his interpretation of the living Jesus from the earlier disciples, and owed nothing to them, but all to direct communication with the Lord. Yet in Acts he is represented as maintaining friendly relation with his predecessors in the Gospel, and even with James. This is, I think, accounted for, if we remember the character of the Apostle, who combined with a firm belief in his inspiration from God a great delicacy in respect to the feelings of others. Thus there was little or no inconsistency in his maintaining his complete independence of the Church of Jerusalem, and yet, where principles were not at stake, displaying a desire to conform to its wishes and assist its members. Moreover, so far as he was personally concerned, except that he ate in company with his

Gentile converts, he appears to have felt bound to observe the Law.

There was evidently a section of Jewish believers in Jesus to whom Paul's teaching was as distasteful as it was to orthodox Jews. No sooner did he establish a church in Galatia, than representatives of this party visited it in order to undo his work. They tried to persuade the new converts that, if they would really follow Jesus, they must, like the Master, observe the Law. It was averred inconsistent to accept Him as the Messiah and refuse to conform to the Law of Israel. Till they did so, till they accepted circumcision and the obligation of observing the Law, they were no better than those Gentiles who professed to worship God without joining the nation of Israel. In fact, they were like some people who whilst professing to admire the Catholic Church and to enjoy its services, decline openly to join it.

Now Paul was convinced that the world at large was invited to come freely to Christ's salvation, not as Jews, but as human beings. This he held was the will of God communicated directly to him.

The Galatians having accepted Jesus were much influenced by this Judaic teaching, which was antagonistic to the whole spirit of Paul's message to them, and he addressed to them a letter explaining his position.

'As an apostle with a direct commission from Jesus Christ, I, Paul, and the brethren who are with me send you greeting' (Gal. i. 1 - 2).

'Why have you suddenly accepted a different gospel from what I preached to you? For this is what you have

really done in accepting the injunction to conform to Judaism' (Gal. i. 6).

'My gospel is not a human one, no man taught it me. I received it direct by a revelation from God about Jesus Christ. The facts of my life prove it. I was a bitter persecutor of the church till God revealed his Son in me. When I was converted to him, I never so much as saw Peter (or Cephas – the readings differ) for three years, and then only for a few days. Then I went to Syria and Cilicia and for fourteen years the churches of Judæa did not so much as see me till I went to Jerusalem with Barnabas' (Gal. i. 11-24 iii.).

It is well to repeat that the chronological question need not trouble us here, Paul's object being to show that he could not have received his interpretation of Jesus from the original disciples.

The next point to deserve attention is that there was an agreement at Jerusalem that Paul was to go among the Gentiles and Peter among the Jews; after this the two, with Barnabas, repaired to Antioch. To quote the Apostle's words:

'But when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him openly, because he was manifestly in the wrong. For he habitually ate with the Gentile believers till some of James' friends arrived. But when they had come he began to draw back and hold himself aloof from us, because he was afraid of offending the advocates of circumcision. And the rest of the Jewish believers showed the same lack of frankness, and even Barnabas shared in their want of candour. But when I saw that

they were not walking honestly as the gospel teaches, I said to Peter in the presence of them all: How can you, a born Jew, force the Gentiles to become Jews, when you yourself (by eating with them) are living as a Gentile?' (Gal. ii. 11 – 14).

This passage throws much light on the attitude of the Jewish to the Gentile believers when the Gospel was being carried outside the pale of Israel. We notice that the great question seems to have been whether Christianity could break down the barrier which the Jew had hitherto interposed between himself and the Gentile, by refusing to join in a common meal. Jesus had been accused of 'receiving sinners and eating with them' (Luke xv. 2). Peter, when he converted Cornelius had to answer the charge made by the stricter Jewish brethren that he had eaten with uncircumcised men (Acts xi. 3). Eating with Gentiles, or even with lax observers of the Law (publicans and sinners) was incompatible with strict Judaism; for to do so was to enter into communion with them. If, however, the Jewish believers refused to eat with their Gentile brethren, they virtually could have no fellowship with them, with the inevitable result that in the same place there would be two churches, a Jewish and a Gentile, and all real unity in Christ would be impossible. It would appear that at Antioch the friends of James were ready to consent that the Gentiles should be admitted to share in the salvation brought by Christ by receiving Baptism, but that they should not be allowed to associate with the Jewish believers unless they were circumcised and became, as proselytes, members of the Israelite nation, and thus alone able to enter into full communion with the original disciples of the Master.

Peter was not prepared to go so far as this, but was ready to avoid scandal by a temporary compromise, as was Barnabas who had joined the Church almost immediately after the Resurrection. But to Paul the duty of accepting every baptized Christian as a brother, to refuse to eat with whom was to be absolutely untrue to the whole spirit of the Gospel, was not only a matter of principle, but, as he firmly believed, had been plainly revealed to him by God. Henceforward Jews and Gentiles who accepted Christ must form one body, and this inevitably led in the end to separation from the synagogue. The arguments by which St. Paul sustained and justified his principle are naturally interesting and important, but of infinitely less value than the principle for which he was contending. He has to explain how it is that the Law can be so far disregarded as to make fellowship between Jew and Gentile possible, and in this endeavour he states for what purpose Christ's coming into the world was designed, and in so doing he raises questions about the relationship of man to God, which are, and must always be, a cause of difficulty to the human mind.

The end and object of God's sending His Son was that in Him man should be brought into a right relationship with his Maker. The entire human race, Jew and Gentile, had gone astray in rebellion against God; and the natural infirmity of man prevented his return to obedience. Christ alone had made this possible by reconciling man to God and thereby enabling us to enter into fellowship with the Creator. This is the meaning of 'justification.' But how could this come about? How could God accept sinful man as His son? The obvious answer was that a merciful

God would receive with love any man who did His will as it was revealed in the Law He had given him through Moses; and if this were possible there was no real necessity for a Christ. As, however, it was not possible to keep the whole Law perfectly, owing to the imperfection of man's nature, it was necessary to find as an alternative the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Christ by Whom alone we are brought to God. This view is stated in the argument following Paul's rebuke to Peter for withdrawing from the Gentiles.

'We who are Jews by birth and for this reason are not offenders against God as the Gentiles are, knowing that man is not justified by performing the commands of the law, seek that we may be justified by faith in him, and not by the works of the law.

'But if we (Jews), in seeking justification in Christ, find ourselves, like the Gentiles, to be offenders against God, can we say Christ made us sinners? It is only, if I rebuild what I destroyed (*i.e.*, my trust to be saved by the law), that I prove myself to be a transgressor.

'This is, however, in my condition. I through the law died to law that I might live to God. I have shared in the death of Christ on the cross. What is now alive in me is not myself, but Christ living in me. As far as I live in the flesh I live in my faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me. I am not making nothing of God's grace: all I say is this: If justification comes through the law, Christ died to no purpose' (Gal. ii. 15 - 21).

Rightly to understand the full meaning of the Apostle it would be necessary to compare the above

with all he says elsewhere on the subject. Here it appears desirable to confine ourselves to his immediate object in writing thus to the Galatians.

It is to justify the establishment of churches in which Jews and Gentiles can unite in Christian brotherhood. This could not be possible if the Jews remained apart because of a loyalty to the Mosaic Law which prevented them from associating (eating with) the uncircumcised. Nor would it improve matters to insist that all believers in Jesus should accept circumcision, for then many Gentiles would necessarily be excluded. The Church would continue to be an association of Jews and proselytes, and the circumcised Gentiles would be liable to think little of Jesus in comparison with the Law they were called upon to fulfil.

In combatting this we must never forget that Paul, believed himself to be directly inspired by God, and that he realized that 'the Law, which elsewhere he describes as 'holy, just and good,' could not restore man to fellowship with God. Not so much because the precepts were burdensome, but that it was on account of human weakness (*i.e.*, the flesh), powerless to save. Only Christ could do this; and Paul's personal experience had taught him that it was solely by identifying himself with the death and risen life of his Master that he could really live.

This is the keynote of the system, which Paul maintains through his Epistles in every period of his life. The practical outcome of it was that the Christian Church from henceforth consistently maintained the essential unity in Christ of all who enter it. It remains for us to inquire how the results of this important conviction were secured.

IX

THE FORMAL ADMISSION OF THE GENTILES

The visits to Jerusalem recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and in the letters of St. Paul are a cause of no little perplexity. As, however, it seems advisable here not to enter into a long discussion of the subject, and to abstain from enumerating the different theories regarding the apparently contradictory statements, it is sufficient here to mention the different occasions on which Paul went there and to inquire how far the material at our disposal contributes to explain the recognition of the Gentile Christians by the Mother Church.

According to Acts Paul visited Jerusalem between his conversion and the so-called Council of Jerusalem on the following occasions:

I. Paul went straight to Jerusalem from Damascus after his escape from the Jews and was brought into the assembly of the Apostles there by Barnabas. His preaching provoked the Hellenists to plot against his life and he had to flee to Tarsus (Acts ix. 26 - 30).

II. When the prophet Agabus had predicted a famine, contributions to the brethren at Jerusalem were sent from Antioch by the hands of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xi. 28 - 30).[1]

III. After their success in converting the Gentiles,

[1] If the correct reading in Acts xii. 25 is *to* Jerusalem, another visit must be assumed.

Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem to discuss the terms on which they were to be admitted (Acts xv.).

Writing to the Galatians Paul mentions two visits:

1. Three years after his conversion and visit to Arabia to see Cephas; but he was only at Jerusalem fourteen days (Gal. i. 17, 18).

2. Fourteen years later, in company with Barnabas, owing to a special revelation from God. On this occasion there was evidently a sharp controversy (*a*) as to whether Titus, a Gentile (Greek) by birth should or should not be circumcised; (*b*) with the 'false brethren' to whom Paul and Barnabas refused to concede anything, because they grudged the freedom of the Gentiles. Finally an agreement was arrived at: Peter was to go among the Jews (the 'Circumcision'), and Paul among the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas were further asked to help the poor Christians of Jerusalem, and speaking for himself, Paul says, 'this very thing I was desirous to do' (Gal. ii. 1*ff*.).

Of course the question is how these statements can be reconciled, and whether the visits to Jerusalem according to Acts can be identified with those mentioned in Galatians? In other words, is the second visit in Galatians identical with the third in Acts, or are the accounts so different as to make it impossible that the same event is described? Is it not also conceivable that the Galatian visit is the same as the second one recorded in Acts? These and other points, such as whether Titus was circumcised or not, are interesting

and have been keenly debated, but what is important is the significance of the agreement as it is related in Acts xv, especially as the order of events and the determination as to the exact nature of the facts can only be based on conjectures which, however ingenious, leave us little wiser than we were before.

Assuming for the moment that Acts xv and Galatians ii refer to the same circumstances, we may reasonably maintain that if St. Paul's version is preferable because it is the testimony of one who took an active part, that in Acts is, though later, much less biased. To take but one sentence in each. The opponents of the Apostle 'are false brethren unawares brought in' etc., whereas in Acts they are described as Pharisees who accepted Jesus or 'certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed.'

Paul and Barnabas were enthusiastically received by the Christians of Antioch, who rejoiced at a door of faith being opened to Gentiles as well as Jews. But the harmony was soon disturbed by the arrival of representatives from the Church at Jerusalem who insisted that the converts must be circumcised and observe the Law. The controversy disturbed the community at Antioch and perhaps at the instigation of the delegates from Jerusalem it was decided to send a deputation there headed by Paul and Barnabas (Acts xv. 2).

Thus we are brought to the famous Apostolic Council of Jerusalem with all its perplexing difficulties, regarding its identity with the conference between Paul and the older Apostles, its decree, and the silence which St. Paul observes about it, in those Epistles which deal with the subject of associating with the Gentiles.

But whatever opinion may be held of the account in

Acts, whether it be a description of an actual conference or not, there can be no question that it gives the author's view of an understanding actually arrived at between the parent Church of Jerusalem and the newer and more extended Christian communities, namely, that the Gentiles should be admitted on condition that they were not allowed to offend the perfectly legitimate prejudices of Jewish believers. The debate is given with much brevity, but at the same time in such a way as to leave a lasting impression on the mind of the reader.

Before the conference met formally, there were evidently preliminary meetings in which Paul and Barnabas explained what they had accomplished. The Pharisaic believers insisted on the Gentile converts being circumcised, and when the Apostles and elders met to come to a final decision there was, we are informed, a very warm controversy. But at last there was silence and Peter spoke, as one version says, 'in the spirit.'

It is impossible to read the very condensed account of what was said by Peter and James without recognizing the skill with which their words are reported or composed. Peter's argument is alike characteristic of this Apostle, and by no means what one might have expected Paul to have advanced. It also helps to explain the motives which actuated Peter on the occasion of the dispute with Paul as related in Galatians.

Peter reminds his audience that he was the first of the apostles to bring the Gospel to the Gentiles; and that God proved that there was no distinction between Jew and Gentile by giving the gift of the Holy Spirit to uncircumcised converts. It was by their faith that their hearts were cleansed, and not by an outward act

of circumcision. It was not, therefore, right to impose the yoke (of the Law) upon the Gentiles which 'neither our fathers nor we were able to bear' (Acts xv. 7 - 10).

This is not Paul's view of the Law. To him it was not an intolerable yoke, but something which had no power to save fallen humanity, and therefore should not be imposed on the Gentiles lest it should come between them and Christ. In a word, the argument of Peter is one of loving expediency, whereas with Paul the non-observance of the Law by the Gentiles was a matter of principle. The words of Peter evidently impressed the disputants and they listened in solemn silence to Barnabas and Paul – note the order, for at Jerusalem Barnabas represented the Christianity of Antioch – as they told of the miracles which had attended their success among the Gentiles.

When they had finished, James, the Lord's brother, summed up the discussion in characteristic fashion. His argument is rabbinical. As a strict observer of the Law, he justifies his opinion by an appeal to prophecy.

> Hear me, my brethren: Symeon (he calls Peter by his Hebrew name) hath declared how God first visited the Gentiles to take out of them a people for his name. And this agrees with the words of the prophets (*i.e.*, Amos), who foretold that God would restore the fallen tent of David, that the rest of men might seek the Lord, even all the Gentiles who are called by his name. It is the oracle of God who makes this known from of old' (Acts xv. 13 - 18).

This was well calculated to appeal to such an audience as that of the believers in Jerusalem. To them the

argument from prophecy would be conclusive, and the restoration of the house of David, of which James was a member, would appeal to the Pharisees present, who, as we know from their Psalms, regarded David as the true representative of Israel, rather than the priestly caste then in power. The descendant of the great king was to them surely the Messiah who would bring the Gentiles under the sovereignty of God. Hence all would be ready to accept the decision of James who acknowledged him to be of David's house and lineage.

The decision of James and the letter in which it is embodied appears in two forms in different groups of texts of the New Testament, which are here given in parallel columns.

Text of the Oldest MS.	*Western Text (so-called) which differs materially from the familiar text of Acts.*
'Therefore I decide not to give needless trouble to the Gentiles who are turning to God, but to enjoin them to keep themselves from the pollutions of the idols (*i.e.*, the idols which pollute men) and fornication and that which is strangled and blood. For Moses has from of old those who proclaim him in the synagogues in every city, being read on every Sabbath day' (Acts xv. 19-21).	*omit* 'that which is strangled' *add* after 'blood' 'And whatsoever men would not wish to be done to themselves, do ye not to others.'

In the letter the decision is given thus:

'For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay upon you no further burthen than these necessary ones – to keep yourselves from the pollutions of idols, and things strangled and fornication and blood from which if you guard yourselves you will do well. Farewell' (Acts xv. 28, 29).

last clause 'Keeping yourselves from these do well, being borne onward by the Holy Spirit. Farewell.'

The general meaning of the decision is evident. The Gentile converts may be recognized provided they do not flout the susceptibilities of their Jewish brethren. Living, as all Gentiles did, under a system which made compliance in some sort with the impurities of the popular religion inevitable, they must be very careful not to be contaminated by them. But the question raised by the variety in the reading is this. In the generally accepted version, besides the 'pollutions of idols' (which occur in both) three things are to be avoided: 'fornication, things strangled (*i.e.*, animals killed in a way prohibited by the Law) and blood,' which is forbidden to be eaten in God's command to Noah, and therefore to all Noah's descendants including the Gentiles. The difficulty here is the mixture of a serious moral offence, fornication, with the two ritual ones of eating things strangled and tasting blood.[1]

[1] A discussion of this difficult decree is to be found in Lake's *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 40.

This was felt by the writer of the Western Text, if that be a revision, who left out the difficult words 'things strangled' and added the Golden Rule 'to do as we would be done by.' The precept is then, not to offend the Jewish believers by violating a food law, but a moral one, to avoid idolatry, fornication and murder. But under any circumstances the observance of the Law prohibiting eating food ceremonially unclean was very important in the eyes of the Jews, as will be seen when we come to realize the difficulties raised in St. Paul's Epistles.

At any rate, this Council of Jerusalem marks an important crisis in the history of the Church. The Gentile Christians were formally recognized by the Mother Church and thus far the work of Paul and Barnabas was endorsed with its approval. The scene now shifts to Antioch, where the leaders of Gentile Christianity met the delegates from Jerusalem to concert further plans for the carrying out of the Apostolic Decree.

The letter from 'James and the brethren' was entrusted to two prominent members of the community at Jerusalem, Judas, called Barsabbas, and Silas. The letter itself was addressed to the brethren in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia, and not to the churches which Paul and Barnabas had founded, and was evidently intended to assure the Jewish Christians in those places that future missionary labours could be conducted on lines from which any misapprehensions might be impossible. This may be one reason for Paul never alluding to the 'decree' in any of the letters referring to the question of eating food condemned by law or tradition. It is to be observed that Judas and

Silas, not Paul and Barnabas, were entrusted with the letter, as though the Church of Jerusalem was resolved that its own representatives should officially sanction the work of the two great missionaries to the Gentiles.

Judas and Silas were evidently very important persons, acknowledged as prophets by the Church. From what is related Judas seems to have represented the stricter party; for, having discharged his mission, he returned to Jerusalem. Not so Silas, who seems to have been completely won over to Paul's view of the future of the Gospel. This is the first conspicuous example of the powerful influence of the Apostle over his friends; and it is evident from the too brief statement in Acts that in Silas he had gained an enthusiastic colleague, who was prepared to surrender all his prejudices as a member of the original community of Jewish believers in order loyally to range himself with Paul as an evangelist of the Gentiles. His name appears in the two Epistles to Thessalonica, each of which bears the superscription of Paul, Silvanus (*i.e.*, Silas) and Timothy. Not so Barnabas. Putting together what we learn from Galatians with the story in Acts, we may, I think, imagine that he was a man beloved for his goodness, respected for his liberality, whose courage and devotion were beyond question, but whose temper was conciliatory, and unable to carry him forward to the logical outcome of the principles arrived at by Paul. He judged the conduct of John Mark in leaving the work at Perga more charitably than did his colleague and desired to keep him as his companion. He agreed with Peter that it was imprudent to offend the representatives of the original Church with which he had been so intimately acquainted by.

openly joining the Gentile community at Antioch. Paul evidently felt his defection bitterly. 'Even Barnabas,' he writes to the Galatians, 'was carried away by their dissimulation,' *i.e.*, 'of those who came from James' (Gal. ii. 13). Acts admits that the quarrel about taking Mark was a bitter one (Acts xv. 39). But though, so far as we know, Paul and Barnabas ceased to work together, Paul never apparently lost his esteem for Barnabas, and regarded Mark with affection (1 Cor. ix. 6; Col. iv. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 11). It is painful to record the disputes among these good men, but the very fact they are recorded, is a proof that the story we have is a genuine account of actual events. The details may be confused and there may be discrepancies, but the fact that Paul and Barnabas worked in complete harmony up to a point and then parted company is too natural to have been invented.

Before taking leave of the gentle Barnabas, it is well to mention that a very early Christian document bears his name, and appears in one of the ancient Greek manuscripts of the Bible as Scripture. Upon the whole, the evidence for its being the work of Barnabas is as good as that in favour of several books of the New Testament whose authorship is questioned. It is its marked inferiority to any work accepted as Scripture which led the Church to reject it.[1] The 'Epistle of Barnabas' is a moral treatise, beginning with a description of the Two Ways; one of life, the other of death, and continuing with a long argument against Judaism as perverse as it is ingenious. At an early date the 'Epistle to the Hebrews,' one of the most beautifully

[1] It is generally agreed that the letter of 'Barnabas' is comparatively late and cannot be genuine.

expressed books in New Testament, with its doctrine of the human nature and the eternal priesthood of Christ, was by some ascribed to Barnabas.

Peter appears to have influenced Barnabas in his refusal to go as far as Paul wished, and he too is lost to sight, at least so far as the New Testament is concerned, but for allusions to him in the Pauline Epistles. Henceforward we have to trace his career in the tradition of the Church and in the early apocryphal writings, though there is no scriptural authority to support his connection with the Roman Church. If the so-called 'First Epistle of Peter' is his, his teaching among the Gentiles resembled that of Paul with characteristic differences. The fact of his close personal relationship to the Master during His earthly career gave Peter much authority among Christians and accounts for the honour in which his memory was held; but his disappearance from Acts after the Council of Jerusalem leaves Paul's the one commanding figure in the history of early Christianity. Apparently John Mark was later on good terms with Paul; but it is perhaps allowable to suggest that he definitely attached himself to Peter after the conferences at Jerusalem and Antioch, and this accounts for the tradition that he wrote his Gospel under the guidance of St. Peter.

There remains James, who appears once more in Acts on the occasion of Paul's last visit to Jerusalem, and it was by his advice that Paul paid the expenses necessary for the discharge of a vow taken by some Jewish Christians (Acts xxi. 23-24). On this occasion he evidently desired to clear Paul from the suspicion that he was disloyal to the Law, and there is no suggestion that the feeling between the two was other

than friendly. According to Christian tradition as well as Josephus, James was highly honoured by pious Jews in Jerusalem, by whom his martyrdom was regarded as a grievous crime. In a word, all the chief actors in the story of the Council of Jerusalem and what followed immediately afterwards seem to have each gone his own way, and yet to have held one another in mutual respect.

'And Barnabas took Mark and sailed to Cyprus. But Paul chose Silas and went forth, being committed to the grace of the Lord by the brethren' (Acts xv. 39-40).

Thus ends the first chapter of the story of the Christian activity of St. Paul. From henceforward his position was assured and he carried out his work in accordance with his own ideas, persuaded that he was doing so under the direct guidance of his Master. For some years he had been content to take a subordinate position and to defer to those who had been before him in Christ. Now he felt free to continue the work, the greatness of which he was assured, in his own way. He began to gather round him a devoted company of friends to assist him in those missionary labours which gave him immortal fame. These it will be our duty to relate, and also to endeavour to explain the spiritual experiences, amid which he developed his doctrine of the dealings of God to man and of the place of Jesus Christ in the life of the believer.

X

PAUL AND SILVANUS AND TIMOTHY

St. Paul's separation from Barnabas has been represented as an ungenerous act because Barnabas had undoubtedly been his first friend, when, after his conversion, Paul tried in vain to join himself to the company of the Apostles at Jerusalem. To say that Paul showed himself ungrateful to his former colleague by choosing other associates is not only to do him an injustice, but totally to misapprehend the situation. In great enterprises gratitude may become a serious fault. A general, a statesman, or any one who is in a place of danger and responsibility may be guilty of a positive crime if he commits an important charge to an unfit person, to whom he is bound by claims of gratitude. And Paul must have felt that, when he embarked on his second missionary journey, he was undertaking a work of such far-reaching importance that nothing could be allowed to impede it. Sincerely attached as he must have been to Barnabas, he felt he was not the colleague with whom he could continue to work.[1] Moreover, he believed that he was acting under the direct guidance of God. As he told the Galatians, he had gone to debate with the older Apostles at Jerusalem 'by revelation.' Later the 'spirit of Jesus,' as will be seen, directed his mission on its journey. In choosing Silas as his companion he was doubtless acting under the belief that what he did was God's will, and he returned to the scene of his former preaching

[1] Renan accused Paul of 'gross ingratitude'; but he offers much the same excuse for him as above (*Paul*, Chapter V).

with an evident determination to carry his message as widely afield as God would permit him. Rightly to understand the story of this adventurous mission as told in Acts, it is necessary to go over it as briefly related in nine verses in which something has to be supplied in order to appreciate the fact that much is implied in what a casual reader might pronounce only a dry record of events.

Paul, having chosen Silas as his companion, left Antioch to visit the Churches of Syria (Acts xv. 40-41). probably those to which he and Barnabas had announced the conversion of the Gentiles (Acts xv. 3). Then the two entered Cilicia, and possibly went to Paul's native Tarsus. Thence they came into the Roman province of Galatia, which included the district of Lycaonia where they had met with so much success in the past. At Lystra Paul chose a third companion, a young Gentile named Timothy, whose mother was a devout Jewess. In order not to give needless offence to the Jewish converts by selecting a Greek to assist in preaching the Gospel, Paul took, what seems in view of some of his utterances, the strange step of circumcising Timothy, thus making him in the fullest sense a Jew bound to obey the Law. On their journey the preachers are said to have promulgated the decree made at Jerusalem by the Apostles and elders. Thus far the mission was a success, and the churches increased in number daily (Acts xvi. 4-5).

But then a change came. Paul and his friends passed through what was called the Phrygian Galatian country, were forbidden by the Spirit to enter the Roman province of Asia, travelled in apparent silence as to their message through the northern part known as Mysia

and tried to visit the great province of Bithynia on the coast of the Black Sea, but were not allowed to do so by the Spirit of Jesus. Thus they had no alternative but go to the northwest coast of the peninsula of Asia Minor to Troas where had stood the famous city of Troy (Acts xvi. 6-8).

In parting with Barnabas Paul had determined to carry on his mission on independent lines. It may be presumed that the decree of the Church of Jerusalem could be interpreted as allowing the Gentiles to be baptized without accepting circumcision, whilst encouraging those who desired to enter completely into the nation of Israel to do so. In other words a man might be a Gentile Christian, but the better way for him was also to accept Judaism. It might certainly be argued that it would be wiser to break altogether with his old associations by becoming a Jew, and thus be safeguarded against all inducements to relapse into heathenism. This at the time was probably the view of Peter, and even of Barnabas.

But Paul was of a different opinion. He did not desire the Jewish believers to emancipate themselves from the Law, and he himself observed it all his life. He never renounced his ancestral obligations in order to become the head of the new sect, but he considered that, when the Gentiles were free to enter the Church as such, they ought not to become Jews, because by so doing they might cease to regard Christ as the only Saviour, and regard the Mosaic Law as powerful a means of deliverance from sin as the Lord Himself. This as will hereafter be shown was the principle on which he carried on his work, and his reasons for adopting this course demand careful attention.

Was he then inconsistent in circumcising Timothy the son of a Gentile father? Possibly at a later time he would not have done so, but under the circumstances he may have felt that he would have ruined all prospects of success among the Jews had he taken a Gentile as his assistant. At any rate, the narrative implies that his success in the churches he had thus founded was considerable. But on leaving the scene of his former labours, Paul, Silas and Timothy must have met with furious opposition, and wherever they went they were forbidden by God or by 'the spirit of Jesus' (Acts xvi. 7) from preaching the Word.

The words of Acts must not be taken as the expression of conventional piety, but must be interpreted as the actual spiritual experiences of Paul and Silas, who believed that they were under the direct inspiration of God, without Whose aid they could undertake no work of evangelization. Still, this does not mean that there were no outward indications that preaching in Asia Minor was impracticable. As the peculiar nature of their mission to the Gentiles became known, the news spread from city to city like wildfire. It was the same whichever way they turned. The Jewish communities were up in arms against them, and even in far-off Bithynia they could not obtain a hearing. This is the more remarkable because the peninsula later became the great stronghold of early Christianity, and most of the important apostolic and sub-apostolic characters are connected with it. St. John is associated with Ephesus, St. Philip with Hierapolis, the book of Revelation is addressed to the seven churches of Asia, St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, writes four of his letters to the Christian Churches of that province—

Bithynia is one of the first places where a persecution of the Christians has left a definite record in the correspondence of Pliny the Younger. Nor must it be forgotten that the First Epistle of St. Peter, one of the most widely accepted early documents of the primitive age, is addressed to the different provinces of Asia Minor.

But the name of Paul, whether in genuine documents or in legend – except in the story of Thecla at Iconium above mentioned – hardly ever occurs in connection with the early Churches of Asia Minor, if we except Ephesus. True, he sent a letter to the Colossians and ordered it to be read at Laodicæa; but he implies that they had never seen him (Col. ii. 1). It seems, therefore, that even when he lived and laboured at Ephesus on the coast, and even when he travelled through the Asian provinces, Paul was never able to accomplish any successful missionary work even amid the scenes of his early triumphs. Why he was so effectually kept out of Asia Minor is a question which needs consideration.

I believe the clue is found in the Epistle to the Galatians. Who these Galatians were and when Paul wrote to them is one of the most debatable points in the history of the Early Church.

In the third century B.C. a northern tribe of Galati or Gauls, the name is identical, invaded Asia Minor and conquered a large district in the interior: later they had been subdued by the Romans, and at this time were confined within a district the three chief towns of which were Ancyra, Pessinus and Tavium. In some respects they resembled the ancient inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland, especially in their manner of fighting.

Strabo says they fought 'naked' with long swords; and it was customary for the Highlanders, down to the Eighteenth Century to throw aside their plaids when they charged, and to rush defenceless upon the foe, trusting to their activity and formidable swords. Like the Highlanders, the Galatians were divided into clans at constant war with one another and their tribal rivalry was often greater than their national patriotism.

After allowing the Galatians to be ruled by kings under Roman control, the imperial government created a great province of Galatia in the centre of Asia Minor, including various races, the real Galatians, Phrygians, Lycaonians and others. The Galatians to whom the Epistle is addressed may either have been the inhabitants of Lystra, Derbe, and Iconium, whom Paul and Barnabus had evangelized – this is the South Galatian theory – or the genuine Galatians who lived in the North. Either, therefore, St. Paul wrote to his older converts, whom, as living in the province, he might with propriety call Galatians, or he made an unrecorded journey into a northern district, and had been warmly welcomed by the enthusiastic but proverbially fickle Gauls; and as he and Barnabas had fled from persecution from Iconium to Lystra and Derbe and the wilds of Lycaonia, so, when he was accompanied by Silas, the mission may have been driven into the country of the Galatians proper.[1]

All these theories are problematical; what happened is more certain. The Jews, whether accepting Christ or not, united in opposition to Paul throughout Asia Minor, which can be accounted for by the fact

[1] The South Galatian theory is now generally accepted; but, in view of the difficulties Paul and Silas encountered in Asia Minor, I think something may be still said for their having gone among the native Galatians.

that there was as yet no hostility in the belief in Jesus as the Messiah. The Jews of this age were active propagandists, and if a belief in Jesus brought more proselytes they were not likely to quarrel with it. But when men like Paul, Silas and Timothy appeared and taught that the Gentiles not only *need* not, but *ought* not be circumcised, all Jewry was in a ferment. This teaching struck at the root of proselytism. It was all very well to say that those who believed in Jesus might be allowed to live as non-Jews; but when it came to forbidding them altogether to become Jews (Gal. v. 2-4), it meant the creation of a Gentile Christianity entirely free from the Law. Thus it was certain that the Jewish element in the Church would be completely swamped by the Gentile, and practically a new Christianity, *i.e.*, a belief in Jesus without observance of the law of Moses, would come into being.

Unfortunately, from the very first the zeal which inspired the missionary to carry abroad his message had almost always caused him to be equally active in denouncing the same message in a different form. The Jewish Christians followed Paul wherever he went, and tried to persuade his converts to listen to their advice, which practically came to this: 'If you will be perfect, be circumcised and keep the Law.' They vilified his character, pronounced him to be no true Apostle, but an interloper who was revolutionizing the religion of Jesus without any authority from either the Founder or His original disciples (Gal. i. 1; 11 Cor. x. 1ff.).

The first part of Epistle to the Galatians is a manifesto against this, as has already been indicated, and the remainder is St. Paul's argument against advising

the Gentiles to be circumcised. Yet, when it is admitted that the main theme is the discussion of a question of purely temporary importance, the value of his Epistle remains as an assertion of many of the most essential principles of the Christian religion, its comprehensiveness, its insistence on the true principles of service, its disclosure of the spiritual motive which actuated the great Apostle of the Gentiles. The reasons given by St. Paul why Gentile converts should not submit to circumcision, are upon the surface, not only unconvincing, but repugnant to most modern men. Yet this did not prevent their appealing with much force to that generation. They are frequently based on ingenious allegories, in which the stories in the Old Testament are made to prove that which the writer could never have conceived (*e.g.*, Gal. iv. 21ff). But we must always remember that a passage of Scripture was regarded as an oracle, and not usually interpreted from the standpoint of its original context; and, if the writer's words could be made to suit a particular occasion, they were regarded as prophetic of it.

That these Scriptural arguments, however, should have been addressed to Gentiles may be perplexing, unless we recollect that the majority of St. Paul's converts had been accustomed to frequent the synagogues, where the Scriptures were, of course, regularly expounded, and, therefore, such characters as Hagar, Sarah, and Isaac, would be familiar to most of them, as well as most of the passages quoted. In fact, when it is borne in mind that the preaching of Jesus as the Messiah was based mainly on His fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament, it is difficult to

imagine any believer being completely ignorant of its contents.

The first two chapters, the Apostle's personal vindication, have already been discussed. Later he addresses himself directly to his correspondents in an appeal in which the most scathing satire is mingled with the utmost tenderness. It is the letter of a strong man deeply moved, written to people for whom he has great affection, and whose perversion from what he considers the truth of the Gospels he feels has been due to unscrupulous men, affecting a pretence of piety. It is a document which throws a flood of light on the personal character of St. Paul, who, like other saints and even Christ Himself, could speak if need be with fiery indignation. The letter to the Galatians is unmistakably written by the same man as the writer to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, and Romans; yet it is unique in tone. As a rule, St. Paul as a correspondent is remarkable for his courtesy and consideration, even where he feels it necessary to express his mind in terms of vigorous rebuke. He shows in his letters the spirit of what we mean by the word gentleman, a disposition never unnecessarily to wound the susceptibility of others. Thus it is his habit to begin a letter with some delicate compliment in the form of a thanksgiving to God for some special grace exhibited in the Church which he is addressing. But in writing to the Galatians the Apostle refuses to use compliment: he is too indignant to employ conventional phrases.

The opening words of our third Chapter are abrupt: 'O you senseless Galatians, who has bewitched you? You had Christ crucified, as it were placarded before your eyes, but some evil influence has caused you to

see something else. Let me ask you one question. Did you receive the spirit by doing the works commanded by the Law or by believing in Christ? Can you be so senseless as to begin with the Spirit and then to want to end with the flesh' (Gal. iii. 1-3).

This thought is worked out in Galatians by an elaborate series of scriptural proofs, the object being to emphasize the difference between the world before Christ's coming, and the new state into which those who had accepted Him have entered.

Abraham believed and therefore was accepted by God. It was not because he performed a command (*mizvah*) of the Law, but because of his faith that God received him. He could not have obtained favour by observing the Law because it was not given till centuries later. Therefore, as Abraham was justified by his faith, so are all his descendants, among whom are the Gentile believers, for God made Abraham a father of many nations (Gal. iii. 7-14).

The acceptance of Abraham and of his offspring was due to a divine promise which the Law coming years later could not invalidate. The Law did not enable man to receive the promise: it was designed as a preparation for its fulfilment in Christ, the true descendant of Abraham, through Whom all who become the sons of God in the Spirit, are made sons of Abraham and sharers in his faith and its reward (Gal. iii. 15-22).

The consequence is that, when a Gentile convert has gained all this, it is treason to the Master Who placed him in this glorious position to go back to the Old Dispensation. In the words of the Apostle, this is beginning in the spirit and ending in the flesh. The spirit is displayed as opposed to the tribal narrowness

of the Old Dispensation, in the comprehensiveness of Christ, in Whom *all* have been baptized, Whom *all* have clothed themselves in, so that there is now no place for differences between Jew or Greek, slave or freeman, male or female because *all* have become one in Christ (Gal. iii. 26-29).

This message Paul was carrying to the Gentiles; and one can imagine how distasteful it was not only to Jews but to Jewish Christians, who had acknowledged Jesus as the Hebrew Messiah, Who was to come with power to deliver the nation together with the proselytes, and even those Gentiles who had accepted Jesus as their Lord. But when they found Paul and his friends preaching a Messiah Who was about to inaugurate, here or in a world to come, a sovereignty of God, in which their beloved Law would not be the one paramount interest, their indignation can easily be accounted for.

The Epistle to the Galatians is of special interest at this point as a revelation of the system and the policy of St. Paul. Yet, both words are misnomers. The Apostle was consciously neither a philosophic theologian nor a politician. Both his wise theology and his policy were the result of a profound religious enthusiasm.

The date of the Epistle to the Galatians as well as its exact destination has long been a subject of disputes which can never be settled, because the letter gives no definite information as to where or when it was written.

Everyone, therefore, who studies it has a right to his own opinion. At present the most popular view is that it is addressed to the southern part of Galatia, and that it is the earliest letter we have by St. Paul. One reason

for an early date is the tone of surprise which pervades the letter. In other parts of his correspondence the Apostle shows signs of irritation at the persistent antagonism of his adversaries; but here he seems astonished at the suddenness of the outbreak of hostility on the part of Jewish Christians. This would be more easy to understand if Paul, driven by sickness or persecution or some other unknown cause, had taken refuge among the Galatians in the North, had evangelized many, and then discovered that even there his adversaries had followed him and tried to undo his work. Surprised at such malignity, he might well have penned this letter, so pregnant with arguments justifying his own attitude, so eloquent with indignation, so tender in its appeal to the better feelings of the Galatians. But this is no more than an hypothesis. The importance of the Epistle at this juncture is that it throws a light on the preaching of the Apostle and the reason for its failure in Asia Minor. Thus far, the mission had had no success; but when the great fail, they look for a new sphere of work. At Troas the opportunity came to Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy. They had a vision: A Man of Macedonia appeared and said, 'Come over to Macedonia and help us.' If the East rejected Paul, the West called for his help (Acts xvi. 9-10).

XI

THE GOSPEL ENTERS EUROPE

If Paul, Silas and Timothy had failed in Asia, a rich harvest awaited them in Europe. There they met with persecution, but at the same time gained enthusiastic disciples. They were, moreover, joined by some person who, instead of relating what *they* did, uses the pronoun *we*, and consequently is generally supposed to have been the author of the Acts of the Apostles. On this point it is difficult to speak dogmatically, but Christian tradition declares that he is St. Luke, the author of the Third Gospel, and in future he will be so designated; and the sections where the first person plural is used will be called the 'We Sections.'[1]

Luke is called by Paul in his letter to Colossæ 'the beloved physician' (Col. iv. 14), and he may have accompanied the Apostle and watched over his health, which was a cause of anxiety owing to sudden attacks, possibly of epilepsy. The tradition is that Luke was a native of Antioch, and the position of his name where it occurs may imply that he was a Gentile by birth. As the writer of the Gospel which bears his name, and of the Acts of the Apostles, he was evidently a man of cultivation; for his Greek is that of an educated man, and there is good reason to suppose that he also spoke the Aramaic current in the Semitic world. There is a legend that he was a painter. He seems to have been to a certain degree in sympathy with the Judaic representatives of Christianity, whilst he evidently had an

[1] In *Beginnings*, vol. ii, pp. 265-348. The case for the tradition that Luke was the author of Acts has been presented by the editors' deeply regretted friend C. W. Emmet, and that against by H. Windisch.

immense admiration for the work and character of Paul. In him Gentile Christianity may be beginning to show its future activity, and he is the only man who contributed anything to our New Testament who is claimed to have been not of Jewish birth.

The personal narrative of the writer of the 'We Sections' is marked by the scrupulous care with which he recalls the stopping places on the journeys which he records; and he is a useful guide, not only to those interested in sacred history, but to every student of travel in the Roman Empire.

His first appearance in Acts is certainly abrupt, 'And when he (Paul) saw the vision, (*i.e.*, of the man of Macedonia) immediately *we* tried to go forth to Macedonia concluding that the Lord had called *us* to preach the Gospel there.' (Acts xvi. 10)

So, he continues, 'we put out to sea from Troas and ran before the wind to Samothrace and the next day we reached Neapolis from whence we went to Philippi' (Acts xvi. 11-12). The missionaries were about to enter upon an entirely new sphere of work; and it is well here to notice that in one respect the preaching in Macedonia was the most remarkable of the successes of St. Paul as an evangelist. His converts were poor, but were honourably distinguished for their liberality. The Apostle had only to ask, and their money was forthcoming. They showed ready hospitality, not like the Galatians receiving Paul 'as an angel of God' and then listening to his traducers; but standing by him in all his troubles, sending funds to him when in prison, mindful of him apparently to the last. When persecuted in Macedonia Paul did not escape alone; but the brethren sent him out of harm's way, and

escorted him to a city where he could be safe. The devotion Paul was capable of inspiring, and the loyalty of the Macedonians, is the most pleasing feature of this journey. Philippi is described in Acts as 'the first city of the district of Macedonia, a colony.' This is a most obscure sentence and its meaning has been hotly disputed; but the last word is plain enough. The city was a Roman colony, that is, a settlement of the descendants of old soldiers who enjoyed the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, and formed a sort of miniature Rome in the midst of a provincial population. The magistrates, like those of the imperial city, were attended by lictors, and the inhabitants gloried in the fact that they were Romans. Philippi was not a busy commercial centre, and apparently few Jews were settled there, so that the Macedonian mission began in an almost entirely Gentile city, for during the first few days the missionaries evidently discovered no synagogue. On the Sabbath they hoped to find that there might be some Jews praying by the river side. Some women had assembled there and Paul began to talk with them. Among them was Lydia, a dealer in purple from Thyatira in Roman Asia, who was converted and baptized 'with all her household.' Thereupon she invited Paul, Silas, Timothy and Luke to stay with her, and her hospitality was offered with such zeal that they were unable to refuse it. All we are told of Lydia is that 'she worshipped God' and we may safely infer that the Christian company Paul gathered at Philippi was a Gentile Church, perhaps the first to be called into being. Some years later, when Paul wrote to the Philippians, he addressed their 'bishops' and 'deacons'; and it may be that these Church rulers,

bearing the Greek names, *episcopoi* and *diaconoi*, replaced the Jewish 'elders' of churches based on the organization of the synagogue. This theory if not convincing is at least plausible, for, in the subsequent disturbance at Philippi, the Jews are not so much as mentioned.

Hostility to Paul arose out of one of the most interesting miracles recorded in the Bible. Elsewhere a miracle is mentioned as a proof of divine power, here it may be regarded almost as an indiscretion on the part of Paul.

Women have in all ages been susceptible to what are now called psychical influences, which, at this and for many ages later were attributed to possession by spiritual beings, enabling them to divine things concealed from others. At Philippi there was a girl who possessed this gift in a remarkable degree. She was owned by a company who made a profit out of her as a soothsayer. It was believed that she was possessed by a so-called 'Pythian Spirit.' Like those demoniacs in the Gospels, she recognized the presence of a spiritual power more potent than her own. Whenever Paul and his company were going to the *proseuchê* (or prayer house) she followed them, crying out, 'These men are servants of the All Highest God and are telling us a way of salvation.' There was nothing Jewish in this exclamation; for the word 'All Highest' (*Hypsistos*), though found in the Septuagint and Luke's Gospel, was applied to other gods besides the God of Israel.

Now Paul, as he appears not only in Acts but in his own letters, was naturally impulsive and irritable, and the girl caused him no little vexation by attracting

attention by her outcries. Thoroughly annoyed, he turned on her and adjured the spirit which possessed her to come forth in the name of Jesus Christ, with the result that the girl became completely normal (Acts xvi. 16-18).

Of course, knowing nothing of the circumstances, it is not just to speak with certitude; but, as the story stands as a bare recital of events, it does not seem to be intended to edify. There is no hint of pity for the girl, no suggestion that Paul intended here to protest, as he did later at Ephesus, against magic by the casting out of the spirit. The proprietors of the girl lost their profits, and she herself became valueless, and therefore was possibly neglected or ill-treated. Anyhow, the miracle brought much trouble upon the missionaries as the sequel will show.

The owners raised a tumult, dragged Paul and Silas before the city magistrates, and accused them of introducing unlawful customs. 'These men,' said they, 'are causing trouble in the city, for as Jews they are proclaiming customs which it is unlawful for us to receive or to practise as men of Roman birth.' This prejudiced the people, proud of their membership of the colony, and indignant that Jews should dare to presume to make Roman citizens accept their despised religion (Acts xvi. 19-21).

The chief magistrates of Philippi were, as has been remarked, the counterpart of those at Rome, and were called *prætors*. On hearing the complaint against Paul and Silas, they never troubled to enquire further, but ordered their lictors to strip and beat the accused, after which they committed them to prison. The jailor, in accordance with his orders, put Paul and Silas in one

of the inner cells and secured them in wooden stocks. In the darkness and discomfort of the night the missionaries sang praises to God and the other prisoners listened as they sang. An earthquake shook the building, the doors were thrown open and the prisoners were at liberty.

In the pitchy darkness, amid all the confusion and terror, Paul retained his presence of mind. He knew that a Roman jailor would be likely to kill himself if his prisoners escaped, and just as the keeper of the prison was about to fall on his own sword, he shouted, 'Do yourself no harm, we are all here.' Full of gratitude at being thus saved from suicide, the jailor called for lights and fell at the feet of Paul and Silas, crying, 'Sirs, what shall I do to be saved?' He and his household were told to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. When the family had heard the Gospel they were baptized, baptism invariably in Acts following confession of belief. Paul and Silas were then taken into the house of the keeper of the prison, received every attention and partook of a meal, which was probably eucharistic in its character, as its keynote was rejoicing (Acts xvi. 22-34).

The next morning the prætors of Philippi, feeling that they had acted precipitately, sent orders for the release of Paul and Silas. But Paul was not disposed to do as his new convert suggested, and depart in peace. He and Silas were Roman citizens, not mere provincials, and the conduct of the Philippian magistrates had been indefensible. Citizenship of Rome was no honorary distinction. It gave a man protection from ignominious punishment, and the right of appeal to the Roman people, represented by the Emperor. Paul

and Silas were privileged persons; and as such could travel in greater security than ordinary Jewish missionaries. Instead, therefore, of meekly submitting to be dismissed from prison Paul took a high hand. 'They have beaten us *in public* without trial and we are Roman citizens, and now they want to turn us out *privately*. No, let them come in person and escort us out of prison.' The prætors had no alternative but to submit to the indignity of going to the prison and apologizing, entreating Paul and Silas to leave the town. However, they did not do so till they had assembled the brethren in Lydia's house, and after exhorting them to remain steadfast, the two left Philippi (*Acts xvi. 35-40*).

The visit to Philippi, considering the brevity of Acts, is told at some length, and it was in truth a crisis in the life of Paul. It was there that he founded a Gentile Church; and his converts were to prove his most loyal friends. Of all his letters, his most affectionate one is written to the Philippians. They seem to have thoroughly deserved his commendations.

At the risk of repetition we may say that one of the most remarkable features of the story of the entire Macedonian mission is the way the brethren stood by Paul. At Thessalonica, and at Berœa they escorted him when threatened by persecution, and never left him till they had brought him to some place of safety. Wherever he went, therefore, he seems to have built up a community of believers or church devoted to him personally. It was the same in the matter of money. One of the conditions he had made with the Church of Jerusalem when it gave him a free hand was that he should 'remember the poor' (Gal. ii. 10) that is the

Hebrew Christian community at Jerusalem. Since the early days when the infant Church at Jerusalem had tried the experiment of having all things in common it had fallen into a state of dependence upon newer, and perhaps more vigorous, churches, and as all Jews contributed to the upkeep of the Temple, so all Christians subscribed to the necessities of the poor saints at Jerusalem. Living in the Holy City, constant in attendance at the Temple and most likely in punctilious observance of the Law, the Hebrew believers in Jesus spent their time in pious idleness awaiting the Master's coming. Not only does St. Luke in Acts mention Paul's efforts to collect this money; but all the Apostle's letters reveal his concern that it should be properly administered. This collection of money would be of no interest were it not that it brought into prominence several sides of the character of the Apostle; his scrupulous attention to a duty which cannot have been congenial to him, his business-like and orderly mind, his solicitude to avoid the slightest suspicion of carelessness in dealing with other people's money; and, as will be shown presently, his determination that his own converts should not use their piety as a pretext for living on the charity of others (1 Thess. iv. 11). It may also partly explain Paul's resolve never to accept any money from the churches which he had founded, with the honourable exception of Philippi (Phil. iv. 16), but to maintain himself by manual labour. The letters to the Corinthians have reference to this contribution to Jerusalem which evidently caused Paul no little anxiety, and he contrasts the readiness of the Macedonians to contribute with the apparent indifference of the richer inhabitants of Corinth (II Cor. ix. 3).

He speaks feelingly of the deep poverty and the rich liberality of his first European converts for whom he cherished a genuine affection (II Cor. viii. 2).

From Philippi Paul passed on to Thessalonica, the modern Salonica, then as now a commercial city with a large Jewish population, and it is characteristic of the writer of the 'We Section,' who tells of his adventures in Philippi that though he was apparently not in the company, he is careful to mention two stages on the journey from Philippi, Amphipolis and Apollonia, though nothing is recorded as having happened at either place. At Thessalonica Paul's success was first with the Jews, and then with the Gentiles. His preaching in the synagogue on three Sabbaths resulted in the conversion of some Jews, of a great multitude of Greeks who worshipped the God of Israel and not a few of the wives of the leading men of the city. No wonder the Jews were furious: for the mission was poaching on their own special preserve. The God-fearing Gentiles were lost as proselytes if they could join the 'new Israel,' for that is what the Church professed to be without being circumcised; and rich ladies were at this time specially susceptible to Jewish influence.

The Jewish synagogues were too wise to attempt a direct attack on Roman citizens like Paul and Silas, but had recourse to intrigue. They caused the disorderly element in Thessalonica to raise a riot and clamoured that the missionaries be brought before the authorities as responsible for the disturbance.

Here again the loyalty of the Macedonian Christians was displayed. The mission was lodged in the house of Jason, evidently a devoted disciple; but he or others had spirited Paul and Silas away, and they were not

to be found. The enemies of the mission declared that Jason had been harbouring disturbers of the peace who were guilty of treason against the Emperor, declaring that Jesus was the real emperor (*basileus* in the Greek of the time meant emperor as well as king). The city rulers evidently did not believe the charge but forced Jason and others to give bail for his guests' good behaviour (Acts xvii. 5-10). Paul and Silas were escorted by their followers in Thessalonica to Berœa, where they, strange to say, met with a hearty welcome from the synagogue. The Jews, more liberal than those of Thessalonica, accepted the word readily, and were constantly examining the Scriptures to test the truth of Paul's message. The same classes of converts are enumerated in Acts as those at Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 11-12).

Though the narrative is extremely brief we are able to read much between the lines as to what the author implies, but for some reason does not choose to tell at length. 'But when the Jews in Thessalonica knew that in Berœa also the word of God was proclaimed they came thither also, stirring up and disturbing the multitude. But Silas and Timothy remained there. And (the brethren) escorting Paul brought him to Athens, and having been entrusted with a charge to Silas and Timothy to come as soon as possible to him, they went away' (Acts xvii. 13-15).

The Thessalonian Jews were evidently determined to suppress Paul at any cost; but Silas and Timothy were in little or no danger. Again, not only the Jews, but the inhabitants of Berœa were incited against him, and he was in peril of his life in the face of a determined mob. With the zeal and loyalty of all Paul's

Macedonian converts the Bercean Christians spared no effort to save him, and not only did they take him to the coast but refused to leave him till he was safe in Athens. Thus he was driven out of Macedonia as he had been from Asia Minor and was forced to begin anew in a fresh field, the Roman province of Achaia, better known to us as Greece.

The Macedonian campaign had proved a conspicuous success, and our next task must be to endeavour to form a conception of the character of one of the earliest of the Pauline churches from the two Epistles to the Thessalonians. It is, as we have already remarked, possible that Galatians is the earliest Epistle, though the general opinion is in favour of giving the two Thessalonian letters the precedence. But however this may be, these are actually the first to describe the state of things in a Christian Church outside Jerusalem, and are, therefore, priceless historical documents, because we learn from them the condition of a primitive community, and also the sort of instruction given by St. Paul. One theory about the two letters is, that the first was addressed to the Gentile, and the second, to the Jewish disciples of the Apostle.

The letters are written in the names of Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus; but, as in other Epistles, Paul, as the real author, at times passes abruptly from the plural to the singular as in the following sentence, '*We* desired to come to you, even *I*, Paul, once or twice, but Satan hindered us' (1 Thess. ii. 18).

We gather from the letters that Paul and his friends had a very high opinion of the steadfast loyalty of the Thessalonians. They were examples to all believers in Macedonia and Achaia, and their faith was famed

everywhere. They had worthily imitated the primitive believers in Jerusalem and had suffered at the hands of their own countrymen, as those in Palestine had at those of the Jews (1 Thess. ii. 14-16). This is the first mention of persecution of Christians by heathen, doubtless, as we have seen, on a charge of disloyalty to Rome. It was quite needless to teach them the duty of brotherly love, for God had taught them already to love one another; and indeed they were doing the same to all the brethren in Macedonia (1 Thess. iv. 9-10). The patience and loyalty which the Thessalonians had shown in persecution was astonishing; and on the whole we have a most pleasing picture of the converts both Gentile and Jew, and of the remarkable affection their first teachers had for them. Macedonia had evidently proved the most fertile field of missionary labour. As to the character of the preaching of Paul and his companions an interesting light is thrown by these two brief letters. This naturally falls under two headings (a) moral; and (b) the coming catastrophe to the world, and the hope of those who have accepted Jesus Christ as Saviour.

(a) Paul has little but praise for the Gentile believers at Thessalonica, but he deems it necessary to warn them, against idolatry by reminding them that they have turned to God from the idols 'to serve the living and true God' (1 Thess. i. 9). The only other caution is against sexual impurity, and it is interesting to notice that these two points are stressed in conformity with the decree of the council of the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 20), the essential moral points insisted upon being that the Gentile converts should abstain from idolatry and fornication. In his injunc-

tions to converts so exemplary as the Gentile Thessalonians, Paul shows his anxiety for the ethical behaviour in a community, the tendency of which, as will be seen in other letters, was to revert to the laxer moral and religious standards to which they had been formerly accustomed.

Another warning occupies much space in both these letters. It is against disorderly conduct and indolence. Christian liberty must not be made an excuse for insubordination. The Gentile Churches must be models of orderly life. The converts must be examples to the world, they must shun every appearance of riot, and walk honestly before outsiders. In view of their hopes of a speedy appearance of the Christ they must be calm, and keep their heads. 'Let your ambition,' says the letter, 'be to be calm, and to mind your own business and to work with your own hands' (1 Thess. iv. 11). Evidently the desire of the missionaries was to build up Christian communities, orderly, disciplined and industrious, and not to encourage enthusiastic mendicancy. 'If any will not work neither let him eat,' is their stern injunction (2 Thess. iii. 10).

(b) This is the more remarkable when we consider the strong eschatological tone of the two letters. The Lord is coming soon. 'We who are alive' shall see Him descend from heaven and be caught up to meet Him in the air. They who died in Christ shall rise first (1 Thess. iv. 15-17).

In the Second Epistle there is a most difficult and mysterious passage. Though the Lord may come at any time, the Thessalonians are warned not to believe any revelation 'by a spirit or by word, or by a letter' purporting to be by Paul, Silas and Timothy. 'Remem-

ber,' says Paul, 'what I used to tell you, that Christ will not come till a power which restrains is taken away. And when this happens a Lawless One (or Man of Sin) will appear whom the Lord Jesus will destroy' (2 Thess. ii. 3-12). No satisfactory explanation of this has ever been given, but the Epistle implies that it was an important part of the preaching of Paul and his friends at this time. This is interesting, not only because there is no allusion to such preaching in Acts, but it is also far from prominent in any later Epistle. The amazing thing is that this primitive eschatology, preached with so much energy, was able to produce a type of Christianity so steadfast and amiable as that displayed by the earliest converts in Macedonia.

XII

THE MISSION TO ACHAIA

ANCIENT Greece in the time of Paul had become little more than a memory. It had long since ceased to be the home of intellectual activity and of heroic enterprise. The Greek genius was displaying itself anywhere but in Greece, whose once populous and active republics had vanished, and the land had been long abandoned to the shepherd and the hordsman. But two cities, Athens and Corinth, were still of importance in the Roman world.

Athens was a standing monument to the fact that 'captive Greece had captured Rome.' The sentiment which the very sight of the city inspires in us was deeply felt by the educated Romans of that period. It being now of no strategic, political, nor commercial importance, they could indulge their sentiment to the utmost. The city was nominally free and its inhabitants specially favoured. The monuments of antiquity were there in all their glory and were carefully preserved. Rich men spent money freely, then and later, in beautifying Athens. Every Roman of eminence went there to study philosophy and literature, and it was considered necessary to a liberal education to have visited this home of culture.

Corinth had been brutally destroyed B.C. 146 by the consul Mummius, and rebuilt by Cæsar. Its Latin name was *Laus Julia Corinthus*. It was therefore a new city, and its importance was due to its commercial activity. Situated on the isthmus connecting Greece with the Peloponnesus, with its eastern part of Cen-

chræ and its western part Lechæum, it was full of travellers and merchants passing to and from Rome and the Levant. Consequently, it was in every way suitable as a station for a mission to spread a new faith eastward and westward.

It is remarkable how different the converts in the province of Achaia were from those of Macedonia. As will appear from the ensuing narrative, it would almost seem that the Greek spirit, with its intellectual activity, its receptivity and its proclivity to party differences was manifested in contrast with the steadier qualities of the less gifted but more reliable Macedonians.

When his faithful friends, who had escorted him *from Berœa to Athens*, had departed, Paul was alone waiting for the arrival of Silas and Timothy. There are few more trying situations than being companionless in a great city; even its objects of interest often fail to divert the mind from the sense of utter solitude amid a crowd of strange faces (1 Thess. iii. 1). Luke says that the Apostle was much distressed at seeing the city so full of idols (Acts xvii. 16), a statement which is certainly perplexing. Paul had already travelled widely, and every city he had visited was full of what to him as a Jew were idolatrous objects. He *later told the Corinthians that, to himself at least, an* idol meant nothing (1 Cor. viii. 4). When he and his companions were at Ephesus the City 'Scribe' declared that so far from being fanatic disturbers of the worship of Artemis, they had not even defamed the goddess (Acts xix. 37). Of course it is possible that Paul, alone and depressed, was vexed at the idolatry of the beautiful city of Athens, or St. Luke may have made

the remark in view of the speech he was about to report. Under any circumstances this section present many difficulties, and may possibly be an imaginary description of events of which the author of Acts was not an eye-witness, and the report of a speech which he could not have heard. If so, the passage is interesting as illustrating a very early Christian attitude towards idolatry. Bearing this in mind we may take the few verses which describe Paul's visit to Athens and see whether they have a general appearance of probability and afterward inquire as to whether the alleged speech of the Apostle suits the occasion and can be reasonably considered to represent his teaching.

Paul, abandoned to his own devices at Athens, at first seems to have wandered about its streets observing the objects of worship which were everywhere conspicuous. He then betook himself to the synagogue where he 'disputed' with the Jews and the Gentiles who revered the God of Israel. As only one synagogue is mentioned, the Jews were evidently not numerous and Paul's preaching encountered, so far as this account goes, no opposition. Indeed his doctrine, even of the Messiah, seems to have been on the whole acceptable, till he touched upon its application to the admission of the Gentiles, when prejudice was instantly aroused.

But Paul also associated with the Greeks in the Agora or 'forum' of Athens, possibly commanding attention because he wore the *pallium* or cloak of a philosopher. He encountered the two rival schools of Epicureans and Stoics, and though some designated him by the contemptuous name of a 'seed-picker,' yet sufficient interest was felt to invite him as a proclaimer of new gods – Jesus and *Anastasis* (Resurrection) – to

give a formal explanation of his views. The Areopagus to which Paul was conducted, is a small hill below the Acropolis, called after Ares, the Roman Mars, where religious questions in Greece were determined. But Paul was not tried there for introducing foreign gods. It is doubtful whether as a Roman citizen, or as a Jew professing a religion recognized by law, he could be amenable to an Athenian court; and the narrative implies that those who heard Paul in the Agora extended to him a courteous invitation to explain his views. 'They took him and led him to Mars hill saying, May we know what this new teaching you talk about is? for you are bringing strange things to our ears: and we want to know what they mean." For,' adds St. Luke, 'all the Athenians and their visitors devote all their time to hearing or telling the last new idea' (Acts xvii. 19-21).

Paul was then confronted with the Greek spirit, intelligent, inquisitive, superficial, one on which it was almost impossible to make a deep impression. Yet the two systems of philosophy mentioned in this chapter, the Epicurean and Stoic, had found earnest advocates.

Epicurus has become a name associated with careless self-indulgence. In rabbinical writing *Epikurosin* is almost equivalent to *Atheists*. In our language an *epicure* is a fastidious glutton. Even in classical writings 'epicurean' is used in a bad sense. Yet Epicurus (B.C. 342-272) taught that if happiness was the chief end of man, it was to be found, not in excess or extravagance, but in the moderate enjoyment of the good things of life, and that its secret lay in being content with little. He took a severely material-

istic view of the world, worked out an atomic theory which is strangely modern, allowed the existence of gods, but denied that they troubled themselves about human affairs. Epicureanism had found in Rome an advocate of the utmost seriousness in the poet Lucretius (B.C. 55), who writes with a burning indignation worthy of a Hebrew prophet against human sacrifice, and the crimes done in the name of religion.

Stoicism, on the other hand, with its stern insistence on duty and human responsibility, had struck a note responsive to Christianity and was doing its part to prepare the world for a religion which laid special stress on morality and right conduct of life.

Standing on the Areopagus Paul is reported to have made this address in reply to the question of the Athenians:

'Gentlemen of Athens. I observe that you are very scrupulous in your religious observances.'

The word used is *deisidaimonesteros*, or fearing the divine. It is sometimes used in a bad sense and the authorized English version has 'too superstitious.' But the Apostle uses it to convey a compliment on the care bestowed on religion in Athens (Acts xvii. 21).

'For as I was walking through your city and observing the objects you venerate I found an altar on which had been inscribed "to an unknown god." That which you worship, though you know it not, I am declaring for you' (Acts xvii. 23).

This passage not only is in accordance with almost

all Christian apologetic directed to heathen, but with the teaching of Paul, who assumes that the natural impulse of all men induces them to worship the true God, and that polytheism and idolatry are perversions of the instincts of humanity (Rom. i. 20, 21). It is characteristic of early Christian writers to assume that their religion is the primitive religion of mankind, which was corrupted by the perversity of man, and was restored by Jesus Christ.

'The God who made the universe and all that is in it, he being Lord of Heaven and earth, does not dwell in hand-made shrines, nor is he served by human hands, as if he were in need of anything, because he himself gives to all life and breath and everything' (Acts xvii. 24, 25).

Paul here turns to the Epicureans, skilfully showing that in one respect they were right in insisting that God had no need of human service, but at the same time he declares that man is absolutely dependent upon God. The proclamation that God does not dwell in shrines made by human hands, made under the shadow of the Parthenon, the most exquisite work of art, designed for the image of Athena, had a special significance. Having spoken of the benevolence of God as the giver of all good, Paul next lays stress on the dignity of man.

'And he has made of one blood every race of man to dwell on all the face of the world having defined their appointed seasons and the boundaries of their habitation, that they should seek after God if perchance

they might grope after him and find him, though he is not far from every one of them. For in him we live and move and are; and as some of your prophets said, "We are his race" ' (Acts xvii. 26 - 28).

This teaching of the essential unity of the human family is markedly Pauline and is found in the Epistles. It is indeed the motive for the insistence of the equality of Jew and Gentile before God and for the university of the Gospel of Jesus. Nor is this all: man was always seeking God; and, according to the later apologists, he was compelled to do so by the indwelling of the Word on his heart. This argument is clinched by an appeal of two Stoic poets, Aratus and Cleanthes. When man realizes his kinship with God he must logically forsake idolatry.

'Being therefore of God's race we ought not to imagine the Divine to be like silver or gold or stone graven by man's designing skill' (Acts xvii. 29).

The speech concludes with a solemn declaration of coming judgment.

'Now the times of ignorance God overlooked, and now announces to men that all should repent everywhere, because he has set a day in which he is about to judge the world they live in in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed, and has given assurance to all (that this is so) by raising him from the dead' (Acts xvii. 30, 31).

There are several characteristic features of Paul's

teaching here. In the first place, the speech dwells on the graciousness of God in overlooking the errors of mankind. The certainty of the judgment is in accordance with what he was soon about to write to Thessalonica. Besides, the reticence with which he alludes to Jesus reminds us of at least one of the early apologists.

The effect of the speech is described as a comparative failure. No church is said to have been founded at Athens: the mention of a resurrection caused the Apostle's hearers to deride him, and only a few believers, Dionysius the Areopagite and a lady, Damaris, are mentioned by name. It is, however, significant that Dionysius is the only associate of St. Paul who played a prominent part in the tradition of the Church. In the Middle Ages the work which was attributed to him occupied almost as important a place in Christian thought as the genuine writings of the Apostle.[1]

Whether the speech at Athens was really delivered by St. Paul it is impossible to determine. At any rate, it is among the most significant utterances in Acts as the first approach made by Christians to the educated world. The culture of Athens and Christianity had now joined issue; and the legitimate outcome of Paul's speech on Mars Hill was the closing of the Athenian schools by Justinian nearly five centuries after its delivery.

From Athens Paul betook himself to Corinth, where according to Acts a great crisis in his missionary career occurred; for here he made a definite breach with the synagogue and established a wholly Gentile

[1] *The writings supposed to be by Dionysius the Areopagite are first* heard of at a conference at Constantinople in A.D. 532. They were translated into Latin by John Scotus Eriugena in the ninth century, and became the handbook of Medieval mysticism.

church. At Corinth also he met with two new colleagues, Aquila and Priscilla his wife, who brought him into touch with Rome. Whether this couple accepted the Gospel from Paul is not stated. They had left Rome owing to the order of Claudius expelling the Jews; and Suetonius, a later authority, who, however, may have used contemporary records, says that this was due to tumults about '*Chrestus*.' It is possible, therefore, that Aquila and Priscilla were believers in Jesus before they came to Corinth. Evidently they travelled widely, for Aquila was a native of Pontus, and we hear of him and his wife as being twice at Rome and also at Ephesus, as well as Corinth. They were certainly devoted to Paul and, as he says (Romans xvi. 4), ready to die for him. Apparently Priscilla, or Prisca, was the more prominent of the two, as her name is twice placed before that of her husband. They were evidently people of means, plying the business of 'tent-making,' whatever that may mean, and Paul joined them in order to maintain himself.

Paul, so Acts reports, was disputing in the synagogue every Sabbath and was winning over both Jews and Greeks. Nothing is said of any opposition to his teaching; for as at Athens and elsewhere, as long as he confined himself to generalities, his teaching was exceedingly acceptable. It was only when Silas and Timothy arrived at Corinth from Macedonia that Paul began to declare his strong convictions, probably not only that Jesus was the expected Messiah, but that all distinction between Jew and Gentile was annihilated by Him. When Paul declared his message openly and the Jews opposed him, he renounced connection with them by solemnly shaking his garments and saying,

'Your blood be on your head: I am clean: from henceforth I go to the Gentiles.' He then removed to the house of Titus Justus near the synagogue and organized a Christian church. *Justus was a God-fearer, not* a proselyte; but one leader of the synagogue, named Crispus, *joined the new community* and was baptized with all his family, by Paul himself (*cf.* 1 Cor. i. 14). Thus in Corinth a Christian church made the momentous step of actually separating from the Synagogue (Acts xviii. 1 - 11).

Paul now settled in Corinth and remained there longer than in any place since his departure from Antioch on his missionary journey with Barnabas. For a year and six months he continued to teach the Corinthian converts; and was so far as we know free from molestation. God foretold this to him in a vision by night. 'Fear not, but go on to speak and be not silent, because I am with thee, and no one shall set on *thee to do thee harm; for I have much people in this* city' (Acts xviii. 9-10).

Unlike Philippi, a colony, or Thessalonica, a free city, Corinth was not ruled by local prætors, or native magistrates, but was the seat of a proconsular government. A Jewish mob did not dare to cause trouble and Paul remained unmolested. When he was attacked by his enemies it was not by a tumult, but by a formal accusation before Gallio, to whom the province of Achaia had been assigned by the Senate.[1]

Gallio, the brother of Seneca and uncle of the poet Lucan, was regarded with great affection by his friends as a cultured and amiable man, but by the irony of

[1] An inscription has been discovered at Delphi which implies that Gallio was Proconsul of Achaia in A.D. 51 or 52.

Fate his name has become proverbial for contemptuous indifference to higher things. Nothing can be more unjust than that he should be thus branded, since his conduct in connection with St. Paul was just what that of a wise magistrate ought to have been. The Jews of Thessalonica had brought a charge of sedition against Paul, those of Corinth one of violating their law. How far a Jewish community was self-governing with a legal right to inflict penalties on recalcitrant members of its community is very hard to determine. Perhaps the Corinthian synagogue was endeavouring to impose upon the credulity of a new Proconsul, and to induce him to expel Paul from the city as a disturber of the peace. But Paul was not simply a Jew, he had his rights as a Roman citizen, and Gallio was in no mood to listen to charges which were not intelligible to him. He plainly told the Apostle's accusers, 'I would reasonably listen to you if you charged this man with crime or fraud, but since it is only a matter of your peculiar law I will not decide the question, as it is one for you to settle among yourselves.' Thus the Jews were discomfited and declared to have no case, and the mob, delighted at their rebuff, beat Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, in the Proconsul's presence, since he had shown that he was not going to be influenced by the clamour of fanatics. 'But Gallio cared nothing for this' (Acts xviii. 12 - 17).

After this Paul protected by the law remained 'many days' at Corinth, and finally sailed from the eastern port of Cenchreæ accompanied by Priscilla and Aquila. St. Luke adds a curious note. 'Having cut his hair at Cenchreæ for he had a vow' (Acts xviii. 18). Whatever this may mean, the object of the historian was evi-

dently to show that, despite his championship of Gentiles' rights Paul was himself careful to observe the law of his people.

The narrative of Acts is so brief that it necessarily leaves us with many unexplained incidents. One of these is the sudden disappearance in Acts of Silas as a companion of Paul. He and Timothy had joined him at Corinth and so far as Acts is concerned the only further mention of Timothy is in a list of those who accompanied him to Jerusalem. Of Silas we hear no more except for an allusion to him in the First Epistle to the Corinthians; and for a time Paul seems to have continued his labours in conjunction with Aquila and Priscilla.

The foundation of the Corinthian Church was the establishment of a Christian centre from which the Gospel could be carried westward. From this time forward the ambition of Paul was to reach Rome. Other missionaries seem to have flocked to Corinth, and for generations it occupied an important place in the Christian world, and the comparatively long sojourn of the Apostle at Corinth was fully justified by the result.

The Epistles to the Corinthians which will be treated of hereafter are, especially the First, the most valuable documents which those who desire to construct a picture of early Christianity possess; and before treating of their contents, it may be useful to endeavour to give a sketch of some of the characteristics of his Greek converts.

Felicitous, but never insincere, in the complimentary language with which he addresses a church, St. Paul thanks God that the Corinthians are enriched in their

power of expressing themselves and in their sagacity, and says that 'they lack no gift'; but he does not praise their steadfastness as he does that of the Macedonians of Thessalonica. In fact, he implies that they had accepted the Gospel with more intelligence than sincerity (1 Cor. i. 4-9).

He feels that they are true Greeks, more gifted in mind than in heart, disposed to accept Christianity as an intellectual system rather than a spiritual power. We see from the First Epistle how ready the Corinthians were to receive new ideas, and to range themselves under different religious leaders, forming factions in the same spirit as the older Greek states did politically. The letter goes on to illustrate the difficulty with which the converts abandoned the easy morals of Greek life for the severer standards the Apostle had set before them as demanded by Christ. He rebukes their love of superficial knowledge, their loquacity, their litigiousness, their lack of self-restraint. In every field of enterprise Paul seems to have found that his message was differently received, and in no places was the contrast more marked than when he passed from Macedonia to Achaia.

XIII

EPHESUS

THE next scene of labour is Ephesus, a city destined to play a very important part in Christian history, though its chief traditions are connected with the Apostle John and not with St. Paul.

The account in Acts is here by no means as precise as in the previous chapters, and the reader has to pick his way with some uncertainty. It begins with relating a short stay at Ephesus, after which the Apostle proceeded to Cæsarea; and it is not expressly said that Paul went to Jerusalem, as the name of the Holy City is not mentioned. All we read is that Paul, on leaving Cæsarea, 'went up and saluted the church' (Acts xviii. 22), and from thence went to Antioch.

But though the visit to Jerusalem is doubtful, the relation between the Apostle and the Mother Church of Jerusalem merits careful consideration, especially since it indicates that he was by no means desirous of severing his relations with the original home of the Christian community and the centre of all Judaism.

Unquestionably, where a principle which he considered to be vital was concerned, Paul was ready to act in complete independence of the Church of Jerusalem and even of the original Disciples of Jesus; and at times he spoke his mind with great freedom; for he was a man naturally impulsive by disposition. But all the same Paul recognized the need of the believers remaining at unity, nor was he disposed to abandon the customs of his ancestors. Provided the Gentile converts

were allowed to accept Christ and were not forced into Judaism, Paul personally was ready scrupulously to live as under the Law. He was also anxious to retain the goodwill and approval of the Church at Jerusalem, and to check any tendency on the part of the strict observers of the Law to hinder the progress of his work. Accordingly, on leaving Corinth, he sailed at once for Syria in order to visit the Mother Church, and probably to report what progress he had made. Landing therefore at Ephesus, he left his friends Priscilla and Aquila there, and though the Jews of the city, on hearing him in their synagogue, entreated him to remain, he hastened on his long journey across the peninsula of Asia Minor to Jerusalem. To all appearance his interview with the leaders of the Church there was a success, since Paul is said to have gone to Antioch, remained there some time, and then to have gone 'in order' from one church to another in the Galatian and Phrygian districts. This, however, is all we know of what may have occupied months or even a longer period. Nothing is said of opposition on the part of Christian rivals and Jewish opponents (Acts xviii. 18 - 23).

During Paul's visit to Syria and the East, Priscilla and Aquila came into contact with a man who introduces us to several new aspects of primitive Christianity – 'A certain Jew, Apollos by name, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, mighty in his knowledge of Scripture, came to Ephesus. He had been instructed in the way of the Lord, and with fervour of spirit was teaching about Jesus – but he only knew the baptism of John.' As he spoke out boldly in the synagogue, Priscilla and Aquila took him into conference

and 'expounded to him the way of the Lord more correctly' (Acts xviii. 24-26).

This passage presents many difficulties, which must be stated before they are discussed.

(1) *In the first place, what was the* 'baptism of John' as contrasted with that of Jesus? (2) Was there a sect or party in Judaism adhering to John the Baptist apart from the followers of Jesus? (3) If so, how was it that Apollos, before he met with Priscilla and Aquila, can have taught 'accurately' about Jesus? Bound up with these questions is Paul's subsequent action in baptizing twelve men at Ephesus, who had previously only received 'the baptism of John' (Acts xix. 1-7).

It has been indicated earlier, when describing the sermon in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch, that even in that remote spot, the Jews were asssumed to know about the Baptist (Acts xiii. 24). The way in which all four evangelists lay stress on the baptism of Jesus by John is significant; yet Paul and the later writers of the New Testament, and even the so-called Apostolic Fathers, do not mention him.

(1) The baptism of John is contrasted with that of Jesus as a baptism of water as distinguished from one of the spirit (Mark i. 8). Yet, according to Acts, water baptism was practised by the Church from the first. It is not stated that Apollos was rebaptized, but only that he received fuller instruction. The twelve Disciples whom Paul met with at Ephesus were re-baptized; and when the Apostle laid his hands on them they received the gift of the Spirit, proving that they had done so by speaking with tongues and prophesying. All that it is necessary to remark here is that the Christians considered John's dispensation inferior to

that of Jesus since He introduced an outpouring of God's Spirit which John had not been able to do.

(2) To suggest an answer to the question, whether there was a sect or party in Judaism who followed the Baptist apart from the believers in Jesus, it must not be forgotten that, with the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple by Titus, all ancient differences which had characterized the early Jewish religion had disappeared, and no more is heard of the Essenes and Therapeutæ; even the once powerful Sadducees fade into obscurity. There is no reason, therefore, for doubting that possibly there was an influential sect of followers of the Baptist in the first century of our era, especially as the Gospels lay so much stress on the association of Jesus with John. If, as many suppose, the Fourth Gospel is as late as the end of the First or the beginning of the Second Century, its insistence on the close relation between the two teachers is important, because it proves how long the following of John existed as a school, possibly friendly, but almost certainly independent of that of Jesus, since the Evangelist felt the need of emphasizing the saying attributed to the Baptist 'He (Jesus) must increase, but I must decrease' (John iii. 30). The attitude taken by Priscilla and Aquila towards Apollos, and Paul towards the twelve men at Ephesus, appears to indicate that the Christian Church was taking the Baptist's disciples to itself, when they acknowledged that Jesus was the Messiah foretold by John, and that the baptism of the spirit was the true baptism which he had foreshadowed.

(3) The next subject of inquiry, however, must be how it was that Apollos could have 'taught accurately

about Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John.' Apollos was a learned Alexandrian Jew and had apparently no affiliation to any Christian body when he came first as a teacher to Ephesus. His preaching in the synagogue attracted the attention of Priscilla and Aquila who perceived that the gist of his message was the same as theirs in so far as it taught the coming of the Messiah much as they, Paul, and the Church at large, were proclaiming it. This is important because it shows, *not only that the teaching of the later disciples of John* was Messianic, but also that such preaching was sure of wide acceptance in the Synagogue, and probably was the main subject of many sermons delivered in that age. This would account for the favour with which Paul's preaching is said to have been received when first he visited a synagogue and before he had time to explain his views of the result of the appearance of Jesus as the Christ. Priscilla and Aquila had little difficulty in inducing Apollos to join them when he was convinced that Jesus was 'the more powerful Coming One' announced by the Baptist. We may surmise that Apollos' teaching about the Messiah rested upon an interpretation of prophecy similar to that adopted by the followers of Jesus, and that Priscilla and Aquila, in *conjunction with Paul, had a considerable share in* bringing the Messianism of the Baptist into line with *that of the followers of Jesus. It is impossible to speak* with certainty, but this view helps to explain a difficult problem about the reason why so small a book as Acts devotes so much space to the relation of Paul and his friends with John the Baptist and his disciples.

On his return to Ephesus, from whence Apollos had been dispatched by Priscilla and Aquila to the

church at Corinth, Paul began by preaching in the synagogues, and on being silenced by the authorities, taught independently in a house called the 'school of Tyrannus.' The section of Acts which follows deals with the interesting subject of the relation of the Church towards the magic of the age (Acts xix. 11 - 20).

The letters of Paul have many allusions to demonology and the exercise of miraculous powers; and this fact has caused many of his critics to disparage the general soundness of his judgments. Under the conditions of his age and the circumstances under which he lived it would have been impossible for the Apostle not to have held a belief in the existence of innumerable spiritual beings and of their power over the lives and fortunes of men, and he could not possibly avoid alluding to them in writing to his converts. Acts gives examples of the power he possessed at Ephesus, over the demons who were believed to have taken possession over certain people, and of his attitude in regard to magic.

All mental disorders, sudden seizures, convulsions, epilepsy and the like, were attributed to evil spirits or *demons*, *i.e.*, inferior Gods worshipped by the heathen and considered to be powers of Satan by the Jews. It is unquestionable that a stronger will can calm lunatics and bring them to a saner condition of mind. The Jews undoubtedly exercised this power, and the Christians with their enthusiasm and strong faith in God may have possessed it even more fully. Our Lord was conspicuous for His influence over the possessed, so also in a less degree were His disciples, and it was admitted that the sons, or pupils, of the Pharisees had it. At Ephesus Paul had much success in curing insane

persons, or in the language of the New Testament, in 'casting out devils'; but there were also some Jews 'sons of Sceva,' the 'High Priest,' who were his envious rivals. Finding that Paul used the name of Jesus with effect when he exorcized an evil spirit, they, considering it to be a powerful magical spell, adopted the formula, 'I exorcize thee by Jesus, whom Paul is proclaiming.' But as a proof that the name of the Saviour could not be used by those who had no part in Him, the demon cried out, 'Jesus I acknowledge and Paul I know, but who are ye?' The possessed man then rushed at them with all the fury of a lunatic and drove them out, stripped of their garments and wounded by his vehement attack (Acts xix. 13 - 16).

This throws a curious light on the habits of thought and belief in the days of Paul. The believers were credited with a peculiar influence over the unseen world in the name of Jesus. Miracles in Acts are said to have been wrought by pronouncing it and Peter and John said expressly that the healing of the lame man in the Temple was due, not to any virtue of their own, but to its power (Acts iii. 16). When Paul tells the Philippians that God had highly exalted Christ Jesus and given Him the name that is above every name, he adds, 'not that all mankind, but that everything 'in heaven and earth and under the earth must bow at the name of Jesus,' meaning that He was above all those unseen powers which inspired so much fear in the men of that age, to whom it was an immense relief to learn that when they became the servants of Christ they had nothing to fear from the innumerable evil spirits by which the heathen might be tormented (Phil. ii. 9, 10). The intensity of belief in demons is shown by the fact

that in every ancient order of baptism exorcism played a prominent part. Paul seems to have been highly esteemed as a teacher at Ephesus and to have been credited with miraculous powers. Not only did he heal the sick and cast out demons in the name of Jesus, but we are told that garments which had touched his body were able to cure disease, as the shadow of Peter is said elsewhere to have done. On reading this one feels almost in the atmosphere of medieval hagiology; and there is nothing similar related of Jesus Himself. But for what we know of cures wrought by auto-suggestion one might be suspicious: now it seems possible and even probable that St. Luke reported what had actually occurred (Acts xix. 11, 12; *cf.* Acts v. 15).

But his object in relating these facts is obvious by what follows. There was a strong reaction against magic. Those who practised what the Authorized Version calls 'curious arts,' renounced them publicly, confessed that they had been in the wrong and burned the books which had directed their attempts in this direction. It was estimated that their value amounted to wellnigh two thousand pounds or ten thousand dollars in modern money.

Recent discoveries have revealed the immense popularity of magic under the Roman Empire. The papyri discovered in Egypt are filled with mystic formulæ. The Jews were not behindhand in their devotion to spells and charms and many of their names of God, the Angels, and of persons, were believed to have been of great efficacy – Ephesus was a special centre of magicians and was famed for its spells, *Ephesia grammata* as they were called. Paul was

attacking the evil in one of its strongholds. Despite however, the credulity of the age, in which the believers of Jesus undoubtedly shared, the Gospel came as a great deliverer to men under the domination of superstition. Men lived in constant fear of unseen powers and magical influences; evil beings surrounded them; they felt that they were subject to Fate to such a degree that they had no control whatever over their destinies, all depending on the position of the stars at the time of their birth. To be relieved of all these terrors by their trust in Jesus was an immense gain if only because His favour could only be won by a good life in His service, whereas evil spirits might be propitiated by evil deeds. In its lowest aspects, therefore, when it was regarded as a kind of superior magic, Christianity was an immense benefit and relief to humanity; and, when accepted in a spirit of loyalty to the Son of the God of all goodness, it gave its adherents an immeasurable superiority to the rest of the world. This explains a great deal of what at first sight seems obscure in some of Paul's Epistles where he exalts Jesus above all other powers, in which most of his converts certainly believed, but could safely ignore because they served a Master to Whom they were entirely subjected.

The last event related in connection with Ephesus is the tumult in the theatre. This may be considered absolutely genuine because Paul himself is expressly stated to have had no part in what occurred; but, *owing to his friends' influence, to have remained* throughout in the background. The two occasions on which St. Paul's company of missionaries came in contact with a heathen mob, at Philippi and Ephesus, had this in common: the religion they preached inter-

fered with business. It was the same a generation or more later in Bithynia, where Pliny's action against Christianity helped the local farmers to sell their fodder to those who provided the animals for sacrifice.

In a city like Ephesus, seat of the imperial government, Paul had been able to remain comparatively unmolested for two (Acts xix. 10) or even three (Acts xx. 31) years. It is true that he alludes to a persecution or some trial when he says 'he fought beasts in Ephesus' but it is impossible to know whether he is speaking figuratively of the difficulties he there encountered or of actual persecution. At any rate, he evidently was able to do successful missionary work, to carry on a correspondence with his converts, and to make extensive plans for the future, first to visit Macedonia and Achaia, then to go to Jerusalem and finally to make his way to Rome. While at Ephesus he sent Timothy and Erastus to Corinth to prepare for his visit to his converts in that city, though in Acts (xix. 21, 22), it is said he dispatched them to Macedonia.

It was whilst preparing to leave Ephesus that the tumult broke out, and the whole story has a strangely modern ring about it. Piety and curiosity attracted visitors to Ephesus to worship the local Artemis, whom the Romans called Diana, but really corresponded to no western goddess, being the representative of the oriental idea of the female deity of fertility, and to see her world-famed temple. It was natural that they should desire souvenirs of their visit, and that the manufacture of representations of the shrine of the goddess should be a considerable and lucrative business. A silversmith, named Demetrius, evidently a dangerous demagogue, assembled his fellow-craftsmen and made

a speech pointing out that if Paul's proselytizing were allowed to continue it would spell ruin to their trade. His address as reported in Acts was exactly of a sort to cause a disturbance in an eastern city, beginning with an appeal to trade interest, and culminating in an incitement of religious passion. Condensed as it is, it is a literary masterpiece, as it gives all that might be, and probably was, said at length, though the diction is a trifle obscure.

'Fellow-craftsmen,' said Demetrius, 'you know that our welfare depends on this manufacture, and you are constantly seeing and being told that not only here in Ephesus but in almost all Asia this fellow Paul has persuaded and won over crowds of people, saying that gods are not made with hands.' But as if this appeal to the interests of one trade were not sufficient, Demetrius aroused general indignation by adding:

'And not only is our business in danger of losing credit, but the temple of great Artemis will be nothing thought of, and the goddess whom all Asia, yes, and the civilized world, worships, will be thrust from her majesty' (Acts xix. 23-27).

This was sufficient; a cry raised 'great Artemis of Ephesus' the crowd caught it up and a mob gathered at the streets. The people seized two Macedonian followers of Paul, and rushed into the amphitheatre where the magistrates also had betaken themselves. Confusion became the worse confounded. 'Some cried one thing and some another, and the majority did not know what it was all about.' Seeing his friends Gaius and Aristarchus in the hands of the mob Paul was

anxious to enter the theatre to try and save them; but here, and this throws a light on the extent of his influence outside his own religious circle, some of the Asiarchs, or delegates of the different cities, who superintended the sacred games, sent to beg him not to enter the theatre.

Fearing the riot might result in an attack on themselves, the Jews put forward Alexander as their spokesman; but his presence only infuriated the crowd, who silenced him with shouts – 'Great Artemis of Ephesus, Great Artemis of Ephesus.' This went on for two hours till the Scribe of the City secured silence and by a wise and diplomatic speech induced the crowd to disperse.

He reminded the people that their clamour as to the greatness of the goddess was foolish, because everyone knew that Ephesus was the guardian of her temple and of her symbol, a meteoric stone which had fallen from the sky. Then he declared that Paul's companions could not be accused of violating the temple or insulting Artemis. Finally, he reminded the mob that the government would call Ephesus to account for the disturbance because Demetrius and his associate could have instituted legal proceedings (Acts xix. 28 - 41).

In reading the singularly vivid account in Acts one is irresistibly reminded of a native religious riot in the present day and of the way a wise administrator of a western government would deal with oriental fanatics.

XIV

PAUL'S ACTIVITY AT EPHESUS

THE two years spent at Ephesus are perhaps the most important in the life of Paul. From there he set himself with the aid of Priscilla, Aquila and Apollos to bind together the churches he had founded in Macedonia and Achaia, for which purpose no place strategically could be better chosen than Ephesus, as a glance at the map will show. The Apostle also with some success laboured to create what we should call a Christian *hinterland* in the province of Asia, and thus to establish colonies of believers on both sides of the Ægean. Much was done at Ephesus to add the disciples of the Baptist to the strength of the Church, and Paul made a momentous step in declaring war on heathen sorcery and magic. Doubtless the mission met with Jewish hostility; but little is said of this in Acts, and it was, as we have seen, a Gentile disturbance which made its continuance in the city impossible.

At Ephesus we bid farewell to the guidance of Acts as to Paul's activities as a missionary traveller, for nothing definite is said of his adventures on his second journey to Macedonia and Achaia nor of his missionary preaching on the long journey to Jerusalem which ended with his arrest. The character of his operations as a preacher to the Gentiles must be sought in his Epistles, and his work depicted by patching together casual notices which tend to illustrate the subject. At Ephesus Paul wrote one and possibly two – if the letter to the Galatians belongs to this period – of his

most important letters. The so-called First Epistle to the Corinthians is part of a correspondence with that Church, and is absolutely priceless for the light which it throws on a primitive Christian society. It is the more valuable because Paul was evidently writing to meet the immediate needs of a community, and not composing a treatise or epistle with an eye to posterity. Many of his allusions therefore are obscure, and even unintelligible to us, but as a rule his meaning is sufficiently clear, and we are often surprised at the form Christianity assumed among people when they first accepted the Gospel.

Not that this surprise is justified: the assumption that when an Apostle gathered together a Church it consisted solely of simple and unsophisticated believers rests on no sound basis. The society at Corinth was mainly composed of Gentiles, who, like those of Thessalonica, expected an immediate return of Jesus Christ. They looked for a miraculous dramatic salvation, not for one by the slower process of an altered life. What wonder, therefore, if they indulged in the lax morality, the superstitions, the religious disorders to which they had been accustomed from childhood? Paul soon found that his work was not simply to preach the Gospel, and to receive as brethren in Christ those whose heart his burning words had touched. His duty was also, to use his favourite word, 'to edify,' that is, to build up a Christian character in those whom he had persuaded to confess Christ. Herein lay his true greatness. Had we only the Acts, we should be apt to imagine that his triumphs were those of the preacher: with his Epistles before us we see that his chief gift was dealing with individuals. Several letters had evidently passed between

Paul and the Church of Corinth which, now that he was leaving Ephesus, addressed to him a series of questions of a more or less trivial character. But Paul had more knowledge of the Corinthian Christians than they suspected; and in his letter he not only deals with their difficulties as they presented them, but with failings of theirs of which perhaps they hoped he was ignorant.

The variety of which Christianity has shown itself capable, and is a source of strength in so far as it proves able to exist under the circumstances of every age, was deplorably manifested in the factions which divided the infant Church. At Corinth the appearance of a new teacher was followed by a new party. Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and even Christ, were chosen as leaders of factions under their names (1 Cor. i. 12*ff*.). With great tact Paul is silent about all but himself and Apollos, whom he shows to be no more than the ministers through whom the Corinthians became believers – 'Paul it was that planted, and Apollos watered, but it is God who makes the plant to grow' (1 Cor. iii. 3 - 9).

The main argument of the first section of this letter is the insufficiency of the human intellect to which the Corinthians attached excessive importance, and the comparative insignificance of any teacher as contrasted with his message. In one pithy sentence Paul puts clearly the defects of both classes of his converts. 'The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek wisdom.' The danger of the Jew when he accepted Jesus as his Lord was that he expected a catastrophic deliverance by Him as the Messiah. To him the new religion would bring an instant and miraculous salvation, probably

in the form of a triumph over the Gentile world. It was otherwise with the Greek, who demanded intellectual emancipation, and found in Christianity a fresher and more stimulating philosophy. This led him to delight in the mental activity promoted by the factions which Paul deplored, and causes the Apostle to insist that his Gospel is not a human wisdom, so much as a new power of God which has come into the world. This made his teaching 'an offence to the Jews,' because it does not emphasize the supernatural by external signs, and folly to the Greeks, because it does not satisfy their intellectual cravings. Nevertheless it is the power and wisdom of God, which, for all its apparent simplicity, overcomes all the pride of man. It is evident that God has not called to the Gospel of His Son the wise and noble of the world; but rather, to prove His power, He had chosen poor and humble things, which to the world are practically non-existent to confound its arrogance (1 Cor. i. 26-29).

And then, with exquisite irony, Paul reminds the Corinthians that for all their fancied cleverness they are mere children. They have no conception that wisdom really is spiritual, not the superficial wisdom of a world so blind that it crucified 'the Lord of glory' (1 Cor. ii. 1-iii. 2). This is why he used such simple teaching 'Feeding them with milk rather than with strong food, because they were mere infants. Let them, he says, put aside their false wisdom and receive the true. Then all things will be theirs whether they be 'Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or life or death or the present or the future; for all are theirs because they are Christ's, and Christ is God's' (1 Cor. iii. 22-23).

This brings the matter to a head: nothing really

matters but Christ. The key to all Paul's so-called theology is the absolute supremacy of Christ as the Wisdom and Power of God. It is often asserted that Paul gave Christ His place among men, but it is more correct to say that the influence of Christ made Paul what he was. The Apostle is the first and greatest example of the many who did not see the Master in the flesh and 'yet believed.'

Paul next goes on to speak of two scandals at Corinth of which he had been informed. One was the incestuous marriage of a man with his father's wife, an offence which 'is not so much as named among the Gentiles' (1 Cor. v. 1); the other was the propensity to litigation of the new Christians (1 Cor. vi. 1-11). For both the Apostle provided a statesmanlike remedy.

Paul recognizes the power of public opinion: the whole Church is to assemble and to deal with the question of the crime. The guilty man is to be solemnly ostracized, cast out of the Church, 'delivered over to Satan by whom he will be punished by disease' *for Paul believed in common with most Christians* that sickness was the just penalty of sin – to the destruction of the flesh, *that his spirit may be saved in the* day of the Lord. In this way he lays down the principle that Christian penalties are remedial rather than vindictive (I Cor. v. 3-5).

As to litigation; the temporal affairs, about which the Corinthians were going for decision to the Gentile courts, were so trivial that the least esteemed in the Church ought to be able to decide them, and surely some wise man could be found to prevent the scandal of Christians clamouring for justice to some heathen magistrate. The object of both suggestions is to make

each Christian Church into a self-governing body, on the model already provided by the Jewish Synagogue.

Next comes the answer to the questions in the Corinthian letter to St. Paul, which seem to us trivial enough; and the Apostle's replies to them are some reflections of the spirit of his age, whilst others are revelations of a wisdom which lays down principles applicable for all time.

As regards marriage the debate turned apparently on whether Christians ought to enter the marriage state at all, what should happen when the husband or wife is married to an unbeliever, and, what is the duty of a father to his unmarried daughters? It is difficult to give Paul's answers of these questions without lengthy explanations of each, none of which can be entirely satisfactory. Here it seems more advisable to examine the general principle which he lays down. The key to this is his words 'The time is short' (1 Cor. vii. 29). Paul looks, not to the future of humanity, but to the speedy coming of Christ and to the end of the world. Therefore the unmarried state is best, for domestic anxieties only distract us from the important duty of pleasing God. But to prevent incontinence marriage is allowable and lawful (1 Cor. vii. 1ff.).

As to a marriage between a believer and an unbeliever if it interferes with the Christian's spiritual progress he or she had better withdraw. But really nothing matters. Every one had better abide in the situation in which the call of God came to him. If as a Jew, let him remain one, if as a slave, why trouble to obtain his freedom? The state of life here is quite a secondary consideration. Thus a girl may be disposed of in marriage – for this was a matter for the father to decide or not as he might

think fit – but the wisest course in view of her salvation is to keep her unmarried at home. These answers, however unsatisfactory to us, are consistent from the standpoint of one who is convinced of the imminence of the end of the existing order of the world (1 Cor. vii. 1-7, and 25-28).

When it comes to the question of the lawfulness of eating food which had possibly been offered to idols, St. Paul rises to much greater heights. The Apostolic Council at Jerusalem had legislated against Gentile converts hurting Jewish susceptibilities by eating unclean food, and the question of eating with the Gentiles had caused the misunderstanding among the leaders of the church at Antioch. In Corinth the affair took a different form. Apparently the majority of converts were Gentiles, and, if they took their meals with their relatives or friends and ate meat, they were in danger of incurring the reproach of idolatry, because the animal might have been offered as a sacrifice. The situation was therefore different from that contemplated at Jerusalem, and this may in part account for Paul making no allusion to the decree.

The solution of the difficulty caused by these scruples in St. Paul's words is 'All that is for sale in the market you may eat, but for the sake of your consciences ask no question about it (*i.e.*, whether it is part of a sacrificial victim); for the earth is the Lord's and all that is therein. If any unbeliever invite you and you wish to go, eat whatever is set before you asking no question for conscience sake. But if any one should remark "This is part of the sacrifice" do not eat of it for the sake of the man who told you so and of conscience. I

do not mean your own, but of the man who told you' (1 Cor. x. 25-28).

This advice, practical and sensible as it is, is not as valuable to us as the arguments by which the Apostle supports it. He rises to sublime heights of eloquence, and the principles he inculcates are valid for all time. He emphasizes the seriousness of the Christian calling by the metaphor of the foot race, in which all run but only one receives the prize (1 Cor. ix. 24-27). He shows how in the wilderness all died; and only two of the Israelites came through in safety to the promised land, though all were baptized in the Red Sea and drank water from the spiritual rock which followed them (1 Cor. x. 1-11). But above all he insists on the need of respect for the scruples of those who are weak, lest their liberty should prove a cause of offence to others. This section is full of pungent and epigrammatic phrases, many of which have passed into proverbs. 'Let him who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.' 'All things are lawful, but all things do not edify.' 'I became all things to all men, if by any means I might save some.' 'If food cause offence, I will eat no flesh lest I cause my brother to stumble.' 'Whether ye eat or drink do all to the glory of God.' The literary style of Paul may be open to criticism; but if the merit of what a man writes is to produce a lasting impression, Paul here reaches the highest pitch of excellence. One of the tersest expression of his convictions and the most biting reproaches of the intellectual arrogance of the Corinthians is condensed into five words, 'Knowledge inflates: but love builds,' or in the masterly rendering of the Authorized Version, 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth (1 Cor. viii. 1).'

St. Paul was fully aware of the value of woman's help in his ministerial work. Lydia, Priscilla, Phebe were valued coadjutors. But at Corinth, as often elsewhere, female mediocrity sought to assert itself by a disregard of social custom, and in the Christian assemblies the women sought to show their independence by appearing unveiled. Paul's arguments why they should not do this may appear to us as almost grotesque, but the practical good sense of his conclusion is beyond dispute (1 Cor. xi. 3-15).

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper has from time immemorial been regarded with such reverence that the abuse of it at Corinth is apt to shock and revolt a modern reader. Yet, when we recollect that the believers had only just emerged from heathenism, the facts become more intelligible. They had been told that Jesus had eaten a supper with His Disciples and they celebrated the event in their own fashion. In almost every religious society at this time the members partook of a meal in common. It was often of a jovial and social character. The Corinthian Christians took each his own basket of food. The poor had too little and the rich too much, with the result that whilst 'one was hungry another was drunken.' Paul heard of this with horror. This disorderly meal was no Lord's Supper. He told his converts that he had received from the Master Himself its true meaning. He reminded them of what Christ did 'on the night that He was betrayed.' To eat His Body and drink His Blood was a very solemn thing. Sickness and death had followed the profanation of this great mystery. When they came together they must receive each

ether as brethren. 'The rest I will put in order when I come' (1 Cor. xi. 17-34).[1]

The long section in which the subject of 'spiritual gifts' (*charismata*) is treated, is of special interest because it deals with a condition of things which, so far as we know, only existed in the Apostolic Age. At all times Christian prophets have appeared as well as persons endowed with the power of curing disease or of what Paul calls 'speaking with tongues.' But these have been exceptional, only a few being thus gifted. In Corinth and also at Thessalonica it would seem that all, or almost all, the converts experienced strange influences which they attributed to the Spirit of God. As what follows will abundantly show, the powers these possessed were not always proofs of exalted spirituality or mystic fellowship with the Divine: for they were often displayed in an unseemly manner, and from a motive of ostentation. Modern science, as well as the almost uniform testimony as to religious enthusiasm in all ages, admits the possiblity of these manifestations; and we may conclude that if they occurred as at Corinth they were due to the abnormal state of tension the little community was in, owing to the constant expectations of a sudden appearance of the Messiah. To Paul, though he felt these spiritual impulses, many in Corinth were not so much signs of grace, as causes of confusion.

He enumerates the spiritual gifts, a strange mixture of acknowledged Christian virtues and miraculous powers.

'To one is given a word of wisdom, to another a word of knowledge, by the same spirit; to another

[1] Throughout this section Paul assumes that the Lord's Supper in some form or other was an integral part of the Christianity of his age.

faith . . . to another gifts of healing . . . to another the workings of powers, to another prophecy, to another discernment of spirits, to another sorts of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues' (1 Cor. xii. 8-11). Later he gives his description of the exercise and misuse of these spiritual gifts.

A meeting for the exhibition of the powers bestowed on the Corinthians seems to have been as disorderly as their celebration of the Lord's Supper. The most highly prized 'gift' was called speaking with tongues, or in a tongue. This must not be confused with the miracle as related as having taken place on the day of Pentecost in Acts 2, where the Spirit in the form of the 'tongues as of fire' was shed abroad on the infant Church. Then the believers addressed a multitude of various nations and languages so that every one understood them. There is no record of such a miracle having been repeated. Paul and Barnabas, when the Lycaonians declared they were gods, did not understand them. Paul never so much as hints to the Corinthians that they should use the gift, which he declared he possessed 'more than they all,' for missionary work. Speaking with tongues to him meant uttering strange and unintelligible sounds under strong spiritual excitement. When the Corinthians met for devotional exercise, every one desired to display his gift. Those who had some special messages 'prophesied,' others, anxious to show how strongly the spirit worked in them, spoke with tongues. No one was willing to wait his turn. Tongues vied with tongues, and prophecy with prophecy, till all was a veritable Babel. If, as Paul says, an unbeliever or an uninstructed inquirer came to the meeting he would

think they were raving as in a heathen orgy. The Apostle sternly reproves this scandal. He forbids all public 'speaking with tongues,' unless some one is there to interpret the meaning; and orders all to speak in turn, 'for God is not a God of confusion but of peace.' All things are to be done decently and in order, and 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' – a timely reminder against lack of spiritual self-restraint (1 Cor. xiv. 1-40).

All this proves the good sense and practical ability of Paul; but in this section of the Epistle he rises to still greater heights. He gives the ancient image of the members of the body but with a force of inspired genius all his own. This leads up to the unforgettable description of charity or love in the thirteenth chapter, one of the most beautiful in the whole Bible. A question of purely local and temporal interest has thus called forth one of the sublimest passages in literature in which in a few verses we have the best definition of what the spirit of true Christianity should be.[1]

The last subject dealt with is that of the resurrection of the dead. The fifteenth chapter, in which St. Paul declares his burning faith that as Christ is risen, so all who are His will rise at the last day, how they will receive a spiritual and incorruptible body as different from our own as the full blade is from the grain of wheat sown in the earth, how, for those who are Christ's, death has no sting and the grave no victory. It is a wonderful outburst of eloquence, though the argument

[1] It is noteworthy that Paul never forgets what he has said earlier in the letter, and that every affirmation of what charity is not refers to what has been said before Thus 'Charity envieth not' (1 Cor. iii 3) . . . 'is not puffed up' (1 Cor. viii. 1) . . . ' doth not behave itself unseemly' (2 Cor. xi. *passim*) 'seeketh not her own' (1 Cor. x. 24), etc. I owe this note to Dr. Frame.

is at times difficult to follow or even to agree with. It only becomes clearer when we remember that the Corinthians were so persuaded of the nearness of the coming of Messiah, that they, like the Thessalonians, felt that those who died were thereby cut off from all hope of resurrection. This is the more intelligible in the light of what Paul has previously said about death being a punishment of those who had profaned the Lord's Supper. The refutation of this error, that even those who had died in Christ had no hope of entering His kingdom when He shall come in triumph, inspires the Apostle to declare his convictions, not in a closely reasoned argument but in a pæan of triumph in the victory his Lord has won over death and sin, and he carries the Corinthians with him to the conclusion that they should remain 'steadfast, unmovable, always abiding in the work of the Lord, for as much as you know your labour is not in vain of the Lord' (1 Cor. xv. 58).

It remains to see how the First Epistle to Corinth, aided by the Second, helps to reconstruct the course of Paul's life during the eventful period which preceded his last journey to Jerusalem.

XV

THE SECOND VISIT TO EUROPE

Though comparatively short, the First Epistle to the Corinthians is almost inexhaustible as a revelation of Pauline thought and character, and also of the internal condition of a primitive Christian community. It is now necessary to make use of it and also of 2 Corinthians in order to construct a description of a momentous period in the Apostle's career:

All the information concerning it given in Acts is confined to a few words:

'And when the tumult (at Ephesus) was over, Paul sent for the disciples, and, after he had encouraged them, he said farewell and went forth to Macedonia. And having made his way through those districts and having encouraged them with many words, he came to Greece. And after spending three months there, as the Jews formed a plot against him when he proposed to put to sea for Syria, he decided to travel by way of Macedonia' (Acts xx. 1-3).

The story of these eventful months has to be pieced together from what St. Paul tells us in the two Epistles to the Corinthians and in his letter to the Romans.

According to Acts xix. 21, Paul had made up his mind to leave Ephesus before the tumult in the theatre occurred. His plan was to go by way of Macedonia to Achaia and then to visit Jerusalem, after which he declared, 'I must see Rome.' Accordingly, he sent

Timothy to Corinth (Acts xix. 21-22). The clue to the meaning of this is found in 1 Corinthians.

The reports he had received from time to time of the state of the Church at Corinth had made him anxious to go back in person; but he was unwilling, owing to his affection for his converts, to visit them as a stern reprover of their shortcomings. For Paul was evidently an affectionate man with a genius for friendship. Possessed of unusual powers of sarcasm, – what can be more biting than his remark that the Corinthians appear to be sitting in the theatre like emperors and kings watching the Apostles suffer as criminals condemned to death (1 Cor. iv. 6-13)? – he cannot refrain from endearing words in the midst of his sternest rebukes. 'I do not write these things to put you to shame, but to warn you as my dear children, for if you have ten thousand schoolmasters in Christ, you have not many fathers, for through the Gospel I am your father in Christ' (1 Cor. iv. 14-15; *cf.* Gal. iv. 19-20). Paul, in fact, possessed the pastoral, as contrasted with the hierarchical spirit, and could not bear the thought of visiting Corinth with the rod of a pedagogue. Apollos, probably like him in this respect, had left Corinth rather than encourage the converts in their factions, and despite Paul's entreaties he declined to go back till things were better (1 Cor. xvi. 12).

Having, however, sent Timothy to Corinth, Paul decided to go there, not as he had originally intended directly by sea, but by way of Macedonia waiting at Ephesus till after Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 5-9.)[1]

[1] According to Acts xix. 22, Paul sent Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia. In 1 Cor. xvi. 10, Paul apparently thinks Timothy may go to Corinth 'If Timothy come.' The Apostle's change of plan is mentioned in 2 Cor. i. 16. It was evidently a time of much perplexity and doubt.

The reason for thus planning his travels was the collection for 'the poor saints at Jerusalem,' to which the rest of his active life was largely devoted – for the journey to Jerusalem, which terminated in his arrest, was for the purpose of bringing the contribution of his Gentile converts thither (Acts xxiv. 17). How important a matter it was in the eyes of the Apostle is seen in his allusions to it in his correspondence. He had given injunctions from Ephesus to Galatia, to urge the duty of contributing liberally (1 Cor. xvi. 1; *cf.* Gal. ii. 10, vi. 7-10, assuming the later date of the Galatian letter).

He exhorts the Corinthians to contribute weekly to this object (1 Cor. xvi. 1-4) and to send delegates to take the money to Jerusalem. The whole of the eighth and ninth chapters of 11 Corinthians deals with the collection and the liberality of the Macedonians as contrasted with the reluctance of the wealthier Greeks of Corinth. Writing to the Romans, Paul alludes quite casually to this collection, showing how deeply interested he was in its proving successful (Rom. xv. 25-29).

It has been necessary to lay so much stress on this solicitude for the Church of Jerusalem, because it reveals the Apostle's anxiety, at the cost of infinite trouble, and even of personal inconvenience, to stand well with the Mother Church. When it was a matter of principle, Paul was inflexible, and he could speak severely of the attitude of some of the original disciples. But, if charity and sympathy were demanded, these were never withheld. Paul's independent attitude towards other Christians has been frequently misrepresented; for he had nothing of the spirit of a

schismatic in his composition. On the contrary, he did all in his power, consistent with his convictions as to the supremacy of Christ over the Law and the liberty of the Gentiles, to maintain the unity of the Church and to prevent a breach between its Judaic and Hellenic branches.

From the perusal of Acts it would not be easy to realize all the hardships endured by Paul in the furtherance of his mission or the nature of the opposition he encountered. These are brought into strong relief in the two Epistles to the Corinthians. From Acts we might gather that, except for the tumult aroused by Demetrius, the sojourn at Ephesus was comparatively peaceful; but when writing from there to Corinth Paul says, 'To this very hour we hunger and thirst, and are in lack of clothes. We are incessantly working with our own hands' (1 Cor. iv. 11-12). Whatever he means by 'fighting with the beasts at Ephesus' (1 Cor. xv. 32), the Apostle lived in daily peril. Once, he tells the Corinthians, he absolutely despaired of his life and regarded it a miracle that he ever escaped (11 Cor. i. 8-10).

But Paul's greatest trials were not the discomforts, calamities and perils which he endured with so much fortitude – not his beatings and scourgings, his three shipwrecks, his night and day adrift on the sea. What caused him the keenest sorrow was the fickleness of his beloved converts and the malignity of those who ought to have been his friends. The Corinthians were a special cause of anxiety: they desired his presence, and yet dreaded his coming. The faction leaders boasted that Paul would never come and exulted in the belief that his frequent changes of plan were a proof

that he was afraid to do so (1 Cor. iv. 18; *cf.* 11 Cor. i. 16-24).

This is the main theme of the second letter to the Corinthians, if indeed it is really a single letter. Before, however, attempting to explain its contents it is desirable to outline the probable course of the correspondence which passed between the Apostle and the Corinthian Church. From the hints he lets fall about letters sent and received, it is evident that only fragments of his writing have survived, and that it was his practice to be constantly in touch with his converts after he had established a church in any city visited by him.

As has been already indicated, Paul whilst at Ephesus maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with his converts at Corinth. The so-called 'First Epistle' was a reply to a letter addressed to the Apostle by the Corinthians (1 Cor. vii. 1). He had apparently already sent the church a letter (1 Cor. v. 9). He was informed of events at Corinth by the 'household' of Chloe (1 Cor. i. 11). He had evidently seen Apollos, who had visited Corinth (Acts xix. 1), and begged him to go back (1 Cor. xvi. 12). Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, three well-known Corinthian Christians, had visited Paul at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 17).

But the Second Epistle is far more perplexing than the First, which is clearer in its statements and more easy to analyze, whereas the Second was written at a time when the Apostle was under far stronger feelings of emotion owing to the many difficulties which he encountered after leaving Ephesus. Paul had been compelled repeatedly to alter his plans and had incurred not a little misrepresentation in consequence.

He had evidently written about his proposed visits, and the Corinthians had tried to read between the lines and to discover what motives underlay his correspondence (II Cor. i. 13-14). His reason for not visiting their city was to avoid 'coming in sorrow'; and as the word 'again' occurs it is possible Paul had paid an unrecorded visit to Greece during his stay at Ephesus. In another place he says that his projected visit to Corinth would be his 'third' (II Cor. xiii. 1). He implies that he had written several letters to the Corinthians when he tells them that his enemies acknowledged his letters to be powerful, though they declared that when he appeared he was not much to look at and had nothing worth saying: 'his bodily presence is weak and his speech contemptible' (II Cor. x. 10).

The fact that several letters were written, and only two or three at most were preserved, proves how much we are in the dark as regards this part of the life of Paul; and a further example of this is the stress laid by him on the mission of Titus, who is not so much as mentioned in Acts. From the allusion to him in the Epistle to the Galatians that, as a Greek he was not compelled to be circumcised (Gal. ii. 1-3), and that he and Barnabas accompanied Paul to Jerusalem, as well as the important part he evidently took in reference to Corinth, Titus must have been one of Paul's chief coadjutors, yet we should have known nothing of his presence at this time but for the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. What has been said is enough to show how difficult it is to piece together the scanty information we have of this visit to Europe, and to construct a consistent narrative out of this letter to Corinth.

Some one had shown himself to be a bitter and unscrupulous enemy of Paul. The common notion that this was the man who had married his father's wife (1 Cor. v. 1) seems hardly probable; for the offence in 11 Corinthians appears to have been personal as regards the Apostle, and not a direct sin against God. The Corinthians on receipt of a letter from Paul had recognized the injustice done to him, and had cut off from communion the man who had traduced him. Not only so, but the guilty person had accepted the sentence of the majority with a due sense of the wrong he had done; and Paul, pleased by this proof of the love borne him by the Corinthians, and touched by the man's repentance, says he has forgiven his enemy and declares that having been sufficiently punished he ought to be restored to his place in the Church (11 Cor. ii. 5-10).

Titus had been sent from Ephesus to Corinth to put matters right, and Paul was so anxious for a report from him that although he found a great opportunity for spreading the Gospel at Troas, he could not endure the suspense, but hastened to Macedonia in order to meet Titus. This reveals a very human side of the Apostle's character, since even his burning zeal to diffuse the Gospel yielded for a time to his anxiety to ascertain the real condition of affairs in the distracted Church of Corinth (11 Cor. iii. 12-17). In the long section which follows there is no mention whatever of Titus. Paul feels the imputations on his conduct so bitterly that he enters upon a defence of his attitude to the Corinthians. Among other things his right to preach Christ had been hotly disputed, and it was declared that he had come to Corinth without any official recognition by the leaders of the Church. He

could not even produce a letter of introduction authorizing the Jews or Christians at Corinth to receive him. This evidently touched Paul's most sensitive feelings. To be treated by the Church which he himself founded, as well as having been the first preacher of the Gospel to visit their city, as if he were a stranger needing an introduction, was insupportable and the more so because he had spent well-nigh two years labouring at Corinth. Thus, the keynote of the third to the seventh chapter appears to be *introduction* (*sustatikai epistolai*) or introducing (*sunistanein*).

'Do we need to *introduce* ourselves, do we need letters of *introduction* to you or from you? You are our letter inscribed in our hearts known and read by all men. You are a letter of Christ written by our ministry, written not in ink but in the Spirit of the Living God' (II Cor. iii. 1-3).

Paul then goes on to say that the ministry of the Spirit is not literal but spiritual. As such it is not veiled and obscure but open to all. 'This,' he continues, 'is our ministry by which we *introduce* ourselves to the conscience of every man. All is open and above board; for we do not proclaim ourselves, but Jesus Christ' (*II Cor. iv. 5*).

This leads him on to speak of his own weakness as a man, and the sublimity of his message to the world. It is a treasure in an earthen vessel, which is being renewed day by day. 'Our light affliction of the moment is working out an exceeding weight of glory.' But whether in or out of the body Paul strives to please God, for all must stand before Christ's judgment seat to give account for the good or evil done through the body (II Cor. v. 6-10).

Paul now returns to the subject of *introduction* which touched him so acutely. He will not again *introduce* himself: he will not do more than give the Corinthians some answer to those whose boast is in appearance rather than in the heart. But, so powerfully 'does the love of Christ constrain' Paul, that he will acknowledge no one in the flesh, even Christ. By this he appears to mean that now Christ is glorified all the past is over, there is a new creation in Christ Who has reconciled us to God. 'Now, therefore, is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation' and for this reason we will only, he says, *introduce* ourselves to you as the ministers of Christ, 'in our patience, in our afflictions . . . in our sufferings, in our toils in long suffering . . . in the holy spirit in our unfeigned love . . . as deceivers, yet true, as unknown yet well known, as dying and behold we live . . . as poor yet making many rich . . . as having nothing yet possessing all things' (II Cor. vi. 1-10). Then follows a characteristically beautiful appeal to the Corinthians, in which he abandons the argument and sequence of his letter, and begs his converts not to shrink from him but to open their hearts to him, as he does to them. 'Our mouth is open to you Corinthians, our heart is opened wide. We are not keeping back from you but you from us. Pay us back and open your hearts to us' (II Cor. vi. 11ff. and *see* vii. 2ff.). The section of the letter closes with the comfort derived from the reception of Titus at Corinth and his arrival in Macedonia to meet Paul (II Cor. vii. 13-16).

This brings the Apostle to the subject he has so much at heart, to which it has been necessary constantly to allude, and he pleads earnestly for the poor of

Jerusalem. He places the matter before the Corinthians with much delicacy, reminding them gently of the superior liberality of the poorer churches of Macedonia. They, at least, had not to be asked to subscribe; but, poor as they were, they begged for the favour of being allowed to do so (II Cor. viii. 3-4), and this has emboldened him to ask Titus to invite the Corinthians to follow their example. The principles on which a Christian's charitable contribution ought to be based are clearly defined. In I Corinthians xvi Paul declares that it should be systematic and regular, made every week and not by any sudden effort. The offerings should be proportioned to the means of each man, and not depend on the liberality of the few. Every one should give as his heart prompts him: 'God loveth a cheerful giver' (II Cor. viii. 11, ix. 7). Paul had already told the Corinthians that they must be ready with the money before he came and he had no desire to handle it himself. The whole business of the collection, however, is of interest to us because in his treatment of it the Apostle reveals so many sides of his character. Active and energetic himself, he can hardly be supposed to have fully sympathized with the pious indolence of those who remained to worship at other people's expense under the shadow of the Temple. He must have known that Jerusalem was the centre of a Judaic Christianity, which looked on him with constant suspicion. His sensitive nature shrank from the task of importunating his converts, and a noble pride made him devote days to probably uncongenial manual labour, in order to live independent of their generosity. Here as in other apparently trifling matters we see the inherent greatness of the character of St. Paul.

As it now stands the remainder of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (x-xiii) appears to have little to do with the first part and may be taken from another letter; though at the end of the tenth chapter Paul again harps on the word *introductory* which had caused him so much pain. 'The man who is approved is not he who commends (II Cor. x. 18) (or *introduces*) himself but he whom God commends.'

The section is a vindication of himself against his many traducers who claim that they are the real Apostles of Christ, whereas he is but an interloper. It is in many respects a masterpiece of eloquence, full of biting satire mingled with fervour and at the same time with strong underlying pathos.

Underlying all is an apology for what Paul calls his 'folly' (II Cor. xi. 1). He is compelled for the sake of his converts to dwell on the greatness of his labours and achievements, though he does so with reluctance. He speaks of his determination to accept nothing for himself from the Corinthians, and he preferred to let the poor Macedonians contribute to his needs. 'I robbed other churches,' he says, and elsewhere, 'I made you inferior to others by accepting their bounty. I ask you "Forgive me this wrong"' (II Cor. xi. 7-11, xii. 13). He recounts his sufferings for the Gospel, his visions, his having been caught up to the third heaven where he 'heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' And then he goes on to speak of that mysterious affliction which he calls his 'thorn in the flesh,' sent, he supposes, to prevent his being overexalted by his spiritual privileges, and to prove God's 'strength made perfect in weakness' (II Cor. xii. 1-9).

The great difficulty in making an outline of the Second Epistle as compared with the First is in itself of value, as it shows something of the trials and difficulties encountered by Paul in this, his last visit to Macedonia and Greece, the relentless bitterness with which his enemies pursued him, the misrepresentations to which he was exposed, the anxieties which the 'care of all the churches' brought upon him. If in places this letter, or collection of letters, appears to be incoherent, the language reveals to us here perhaps more than anywhere else the human weakness and the divine strength of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

XVI

PAUL AND THE ROMAN CHRISTIANS

The letter to the Romans, written when Paul was leaving Corinth for the second time on his way to Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 25), is full of difficult questions, theological and otherwise. Here we confine ourselves to but one, namely, the possible relation of Paul at this time to the Christian community at Rome. Before doing so it is desirable to place the problem briefly, but as clearly as possible, before the reader.

We must inquire whether the epistle is a personal one, like the two to the Corinthians and Galatians, addressed to a particular Christian body. Or was it, not so much a letter, as a treatise on the relationship of the Jews and Gentiles who had accepted the Gospel? In other words, did Paul write to the individual Churches of Galatia a letter on this burning question, and then put his arguments into a treatise to be sent to the Christian communities generally, the one sent to Rome being accepted at a later time as addressed to that particular Church?

The eleventh chapter ends with these words: 'Because from Him, and through Him and in Him are all things; to Him be the glory for ever, Amen.' This doxology may well be the conclusion of a letter, especially as in xii. 1 the theme is changed and becomes a discourse on Christian conduct and morality, ending with xv. 13: 'Now may the God of hope fill you with all peace and joy in believing, that ye may abound in hope in the power of the Holy Ghost,' another suitable conclusion. Then there follow some personal remarks

about the Apostle's future plans and an allusion to the collection for Jerusalem contributed by Macedonia and Achaia. This ends xv. 33: 'And the God of peace be with you all, Amen.' The sixteenth chapter consists of salutations of certain persons, concluding thus: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus be with you,' xvi. 20, and followed by messages from St. Paul's companions to the church addressed. The Epistle as we now have it ends with a longer doxology (xvi. 25-27).

It is consequently possible to surmise that a number of paragraphs were added at different times and that the Epistle to the Romans was a treatise with these supplements placed at the end of the original salutations. It has even been suggested that the salutations were addressed to Ephesus, where Paul had many friends, and not to Rome where he was personally unknown. There is also a doubt whether at the beginning the words 'In Rome' originally existed, and perhaps a blank was (i-7) left and the name of the particular church to which each copy was sent inserted.

Such then is the case against the original form of the letter being as it now is. Our task must be to see whether there is reason to suppose that at the time assigned to the letter Paul had sufficient acquaintance with the Christians at Rome to send a long list of personal salutations to its members.

We learn from Acts that Priscilla and Aquila had come from Rome to Corinth, and had entered into close relations with Paul, that they had accompanied him to Ephesus, remained there for some time, and, according to the Epistle to the Romans, returned later to Rome (Acts xviii. 2; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Rom. xvi. 3). But, as is evident from the list of those who

accompanied him on his final journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 4), as well as from his Epistles, Paul had a large number of fellow workers, and when he was at Ephesus he was evidently no solitary preacher, but the head of a body of missionaries whom he was sending forth as evangelists. It is natural to suppose that by *means of these* he was in constant touch with Rome, which he earnestly desired to visit in person. He was prevented from doing so because, as he says, he was engaged in a very extensive missionary campaign in the Balkan peninsula and had gone as a pioneer of Christianity to the confines of the province of Illyricum which was bounded by the Adriatic (Rom. xv. 19). He was not able to go further westward on account of his determination to go to Jerusalem with the contribution of his Churches. At Corinth, however, he may have been in constant communication with Rome and have had many friends and colleagues in the imperial city. If so, the salutations in Romans xvi are quite applicable.[1]

That there was, and had long been a Christian church there is tolerably certain. The Jewish colony had made its appearance more than a century earlier, for Cicero *in his defence of Flaccus the Proconsul of* Asia had told the Senate, perhaps rhetorically, that he had to speak softly for fear of offending the Jews in the city; and the Herodian family had long lived there on intimate terms with the imperial family. That by A. D. 57, the date of the Epistle, a Christian church should not have been firmly established is almost

[1] Dr. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, is of the opinion that the salutations were addressed to Ephesus where the Apostle was well known, and *this is held by most modern scholars. I think, however, something should* be said in favour of the traditional view.

incredible; and, as has been suggested, Priscilla and Aquila may well have entered the service of Christ before they met Paul at Corinth. It is permissible to question, but not to ignore, the early tradition of the Church that Peter was for twenty-five years 'bishop' of Rome, which cannot mean that he remained there all the time but that he had been the actual founder of the Church during his missionary travels. If so he must have gone there at an early date. The omission of the name of Peter in the Epistle to the Romans presents a serious difficulty: but this does not disprove the antiquity of the Church of Rome.

Nor does the Epistle itself when examined prove to be a theological disquisition. It rather bears the appearance of a letter written to meet the actual needs of a particular church, with which the writer was well acquainted at least by hearsay.

Even if the words 'In Rome' were omitted (*see* Rom. i. 7) what follows would have a decidedly insincere air in a circular letter. Paul thanks God that the faith of his correspondents is spoken of throughout the world, that he is constantly praying God that he may visit them and give them some gift of the Spirit, that he and they may prove a support to one another by their mutual faith, and that he often intended to come to them but hitherto had been hindered (Rom. i. 8-13). Besides this, the objections he quotes and answers when he explains his view would be far more genuine and natural, if they were actually raised by some Christians of Rome, and were not imaginary criticisms, the invention of the Apostle, set up by him in order that they might be overcome. If the questions are spontaneous, and the difficulties were actually experienced,

they throw much light on the earliest Roman Christianity.[2]

The Epistle to the Romans is St. Paul's most important contribution to Christian thought and to the theological meaning of the work of Christ. This aspect of the letter requires a detailed survey; and, now we are dealing with the life of Paul rather than with his opinions, it is advisable to restrict ourselves to questions (1) as to the light thrown by the letter on Paul's movements, and (2) the general conditions of contemporary Christian life at Rome.

(1) The tragedy which underlies Paul's projects at this time is that they were made when at the very height of his success as a missionary to the world. After all his unexampled labours and sufferings, which he had described with so much eloquence in the Corinthian correspondence, he appeared to be on the verge of a complete triumph. As he wrote from Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth, where he was waiting for a ship to take him toward Jerusalem with a contribution sufficient to prove his affection and to remove the suspicions of the Mother Church, he could with justice contemplate the success he had been able to achieve. He had himself preached Christ in Asia, one of the richest and most populous provinces in the Roman world, so that men could say 'This Paul has throughout almost the whole of Asia persuaded a mighty multitude' (Acts xix. 26). He had so far won the friendship of the heathen that he had the support of the representatives of the cities which contributed to their sacred games at Ephesus. He had founded a Church in the Troad, which already promised to be a

[2] Such questions, I mean, as in Rom. iii. 1; iii. 9; iv. 1; vi. 1.

great door for the introduction of the Gospel (II Cor. ii. 12). The success of Paul's unrecorded labours in *Macedonia and Achaia must have been even greater* than on the Western shores of Asia Minor. It has been shown what loyalty he had found in Philippi and Thessalonica, and with what intelligence his message had been received in Corinth, and he was able to tell the Romans how extensively he had proved himself a pioneer of the Gospel 'as far as Illyricum,' in addition to which he had gathered together a devoted band of followers who continued his labours in his absence. And now, having won success in two of the Mediterranean peninsulas, he was ready to push his conquests into the remaining two, Italy and Spain (Rom. xv. 24). Yet whilst he is making these far-reaching plans Paul evidently feels that this journey to Jerusalem may lead to his death; for he begs his correspondents to pray for him 'That I may be delivered from the unbelievers in Judæa.' This renders the description of Paul's journey to Jerusalem in Acts one of the most pathetic stories in the New Testament, leading up to the tragic *conclusion of his arrest and imprisonment.*

(2) The condition of the Roman Church at the time as revealed in the Epistle must be our next consideration. In the purely doctrinal portion (Rom. i-xi) Paul is writing as though he were teaching in a Rabbinical school, interrupted here and there by his disciples with questions which may disclose the character of Judaism in Rome. Paul begins his doctrinal argument by declaring that the wrath of God is now being manifested against all the iniquity of man. First he exposes the guilt and impurity of the Gentile world, and shows that, despite the fact that it had no direct

revelation from God, it had deliberately gone astray by violating the law of Nature, which plainly testified to His power and goodness (Rom. i. 18-19).

Having demonstrated the justice of God towards the Gentile sinners, the Apostle turns to the Jews. They have the Law, they know what God wants; but, though they boast that they can teach other men, they are inconsistent in their own lives. As the prophets say 'The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles on their account' (Rom. ii. 17-29, verse 24 quoting Isaiah lii. 5).

The Jews are then supposed to raise a series of objections. 'How is the Jew then more privileged than the Gentile?' 'If our injustice serves to bring out God's righteousness, is not God unjust in visiting us with his displeasure? If God is proved true by proving me a liar, why should he judge me? If it is as you say, it amounts to this: we ought to do evil that good may come of it' (Rom. iii. 1-8).

Of course Paul may have raised these questions himself in order to answer them, but he may also be supposed to be replying to objections he knew the Jews, and even the Jewish Christians, were advancing against his teaching. They are continued till we come to the eighth chapter, in which Paul arrives at the conclusion that 'There is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus' and his eloquent description of life under the spirit which makes us call on God as 'Abba, Father.' It is hard to imagine that Paul would have invented such a series of questions as appears in the first seven chapters of the Epistle, some of which he evidently finds difficult to answer, if he did not know that his correspondents were asking them. For their

criticisms amount to a charge that he, Paul, who evidently was deeply concerned with the morals of his converts, was by his attitude towards the Law striking at the root of all morality. It seems more natural to suppose that he already knew of the objections which were being made to his teaching, than that he suggested them to the Roman community.

In the ninth and tenth chapters Paul reveals his love for his nation and rises to a sublime height of pathetic eloquence in pleading that they might accept the salvation offered by Jesus. That they have not done so already is so amazing to him that he finds an explanation only in the hidden purpose of God, by which some are rejected and only a few accepted and saved. He considers that this is what the prophets refer to when they speak of the 'remnant of Israel' being saved (Rom. ix. 27). It is on these chapters that the disputed doctrines of election, reprobation, and predestination, which have so deeply agitated the Christianity of the West, are mainly based. Here, however, our interest lies in discovering the nature of the Apostle's approach to his countrymen at this period. He strives with all his might to arouse them to a sense of the privileges which are slipping from their grasp; 'My heart's desire and my prayer to God,' writes the Apostle, 'is that they (the Jews) may be saved, for I testify that they are zealous for God but without knowledge' (Rom. ix. 1-3, x. 1-2). Paul does not overlook the merits of Judaism and its superiority to all other religions. Nor does he allow himself to forget that he is Jewish to the core. 'I have ceaseless sorrow in my heart for my brethren of Israel, my natural kinsmen, and for the sake of my

brothers I would myself be cut off as accursed from Christ' (ix. 1-3). As compared with the Gentiles the Jews have every advantage; they belong to the true Israel, they enjoy the glory of God, and the adoption as His sons: the Law, the privilege of serving God, the covenants made to the fathers, the promises all belong to them. Paul cannot believe that God has rejected His people; for he himself is a son of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. xi. 1). It is true that the majority of Israel has proved hard-hearted and has rejected the Gospel. Perhaps this has happened in order that the Gentiles too may be saved. But if the loss of Israel is to the advantage of the outside world, Paul cannot believe that it is irremediable. A day will come when the Gentiles will have contributed their quota, and then will come the salvation of all Israel. This will be gain indeed to the Gentiles – nay it will be truly a 'life from the dead' (Rom. xi. 11-31).

The vigour with which Paul here expresses himself, his passionate love for his own people, his sorrow at their rejection of His Master, amply accounts for the fact that, for all his zeal for his Gentile converts, he never could keep entirely away from Jerusalem. But there were also Gentile converts at Rome, to whom Paul addresses warning. He is always on the watch against what he calls 'glorying' or 'boasting' (*kaukêsis*). When he is compelled to speak of himself and the work he has accomplished or the special privileges vouchsafed to him, he does so with an apology. For he perceived that 'boasting' was a great danger to nascent Christianity. The original disciples 'gloried' over Paul because they had known Christ when on earth: The Jewish gloried over the Gentile converts,

because they had been born inheritors of the blessings of the Messianic age. At Rome it would appear that the Gentile Christians had begun to 'glory' over their Jewish brethren, because it seemed to them that God was rejecting His People in favour of themselves. Paul is fully alive to the peril of this self-glorification, and by the allegory of the olive tree and the branches grafted on to it, he shows that the Gentiles may lose the privileges they enjoy by unduly presuming on the favour God has shown them (Rom. xi. 13-24).

In the moral precepts towards the end of the letter he deals with problems applicable to what is known of Judaism in Rome. Paul gives a beautiful sketch of what the character of a true follower of Jesus should be. He adds to this an exhortation peculiarly necessary if a Roman community is addressed. The Jewish population in the city was large and turbulent. It has been estimated that their quarters, mostly in the poor districts, may have contained as many as thirty thousand persons. They enjoyed great legal privileges and immunities; some of them were admitted to confidence and even intimacy with the aristocracy, but the majority were regarded with disfavour by the people, and considered a nuisance by the responsible government. Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius agree that they were a troublesome element of the population; and, if Paul had information of what was going on in Rome, his warning that the Christians must obey the civil authorities is singularly applicable. It was not that Paul ordered submission to the tyranny of a Nero, as later advocates of 'non-resistance' maintained; since he was writing during that Emperor's *quinquennium*, when the government was exceptionally good, and he specially

cautions the converts to abstain, not only from sedition, but from actual crime (Rom. xiii. 1-7).

Finally Paul deals with the vexed question which had distracted Corinth, as to what Christians ought to do in the matter of eating such food as would cause offence to the scrupulous whether they were of Jewish or Gentile birth. Here he displays the same noble tolerance and wisdom as he does in 1 Corinthians, raising this really unimportant matter to the level of the inculcation of the deepest principle of Christian conduct. 'Let us not judge one another: make this the basis of your judgement, never to cause offence to one who is your brother. I know and am persuaded in the Lord that nothing is of itself unclean; but if one thinks anything to be so, it is unclean to him. For if your brother is grieved by what you eat, you are no more walking in love. Do not destroy the faith of a man by what you choose to eat. He is after all a brother for whom Christ died. The kingdom of God is not food and drink; it is righteousness and peace,' etc. (Rom. xiv. 13-23).

To whomsoever the salutations in Romans xvi may be addressed, they are of great significance and worth all the attention scholars have bestowed on them. They prove in the first place that Paul's Epistles were not addressed to the people of the lower order but to what we should term the upper middle class. To none but an educated constituency could a letter like Romans have appealed. The many women mentioned must have been mostly, like Lydia and Chloe, heads of considerable households. The slaves or freedmen of the *familia* of Narcissus and Aristobulus may well have been the people who managed the affairs of opulent nobles.

But the number of Paul's relations mentioned is very significant. Andronicus and Junias, we learn, were 'kinsmen,' fellow labourers and fellow sufferers in prison, who had embraced Christianity before Paul, and were known as eminent apostles. Thus Paul incidentally reveals the fact that the gospel numbered members of his own family among its first adherents. Another 'kinsman' named is Herodion, otherwise unknown to us. And not only so, but among Paul's companions when he wrote the Epistle were three more of relatives, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater. From Acts we learn that his nephew lived at Jerusalem. From this it is evident that the Apostle Paul, so far from being alone, was a member of a large and widely dispersed family, some of whom were his enthusiastic fellow labourers in the diffusion of the Gospel, and that, even when a persecutor, he had two distinguished apostles of Christ among his kinsmen.

XVII

PAUL GOES TO JERUSALEM

When Paul dispatched his epistle to Rome the active work of his life, his great exploits as a missionary and a writer were practically at an end. We cannot say with certainty that he founded any other church, and no letter of his comparable to those to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans has been preserved. But for the guidance of Acts we should be completely in the dark as to his movements. But fortunately, brief as it is, the section dealing with this period of the life of the Apostle is admittedly the first-hand testimony of one who was with him throughout all his adventures at the time.

It is on the whole a melancholy story. No more missionary successes, perils, or deliverances, no more plans for future conquests. Paul is scarcely ever a free man. He goes to Jerusalem with a growing sense of the danger he is incurring, his long journey is a series of farewells to his old friends. At Jerusalem he is arrested and for long years his life is spent, not in spreading the Gospel, but in enforced idleness, broken by wranglings, mostly on legal technicalities, with Sanhedrins or Roman provincial courts. At last, after bitter experience of 'the law's delay,' the Apostle embarks as a prisoner for Rome. Only once more do we have a glimpse at him as a great personality, though in custody, acting almost as the natural leader of the passengers and crew of a ship, when it went to pieces on the shore of Malta. In his Gospel Luke has devoted much space, from ix. 51 – xix. 28, to the journey of

our Lord from Galilee to Jerusalem. This section contains many parables of great beauty peculiar to this evangelist: the good Samaritan, the Lost Sheep, the Importunate Widow, as well as discourses of Jesus and sayings reported elsewhere in Matthew. In Acts Paul's itinerary is traced with a precision impossible in the Gospel narrative of the last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem, as the writer of Acts was an eye-witness throughout. It also contains a report of the Apostle's farewell address to the elders of Ephesus, which is more in accordance with the language and sentiments of the Pauline Epistles than any speech of his in the rest of Acts.

After Paul had decided to leave Corinth by way of Macedonia, the writer of Acts says: 'Now there accompanied him Sopater (son of Pyrrhus) of Berœa, and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe and Timothy, and Tychicus and Trophimus from (the province of) Asia. These came to Troas and waited for us; and we sailed after the days of unleavened bread from Philippi and came to Troas in five days, where we stayed seven days' (Acts xx. 4-6).

The varieties of readings in this passage are perplexing but the sense is tolerably clear. The companions of Paul, who had agreed to meet him at Troas, were evidently the delegates from the churches which contributed to the aid of the Christians at Jerusalem, and this appears incidentally in Acts xxi. 29, where the explanation of the accusation that Paul had brought heathen into the Temple is that Trophimus, an Ephesian, had been seen in his company in the city. The *rendezvous* was chosen in order that the delegates from Macedonia might meet with those from Asia

Minor and all travel together to Syria. Paul's company consisted probably of the Corinthian and Philippian representatives, and among them was the writer of this section, as the abrupt appearance of the first person plural indicates. Timothy had probably gone to collect funds from his native Lystra, and had returned, accompanied by Gaius, from the neighbouring city of Derbe; and the whole delegation had chartered a ship to take them on their way to Palestine.

The final gathering at Troas was at a meeting of the Church in an upper room, where we witness the scene of the earliest Eucharistic service described in Christian literature. The Sabbath was over when the believers met for the purpose of breaking bread. Like most later services, this was held at night. The room was lighted by many lamps, and apparently crowded, as a boy seated in one of the windows was overcome by sleep and fell from the top of the house insensible, and to all appearances dead. Paul assured the congregation that the lad was still alive, and having embraced him, went back to the upper room and continued his discourse until dawn. Then they broke bread and after a simple meal, Paul went forth on his journey: 'and they brought the child in alive and were greatly comforted.' The order of the narrative forbids us to believe that it intended to imply that Eutychus (for that was the boy's name) had actually died from his fall. It does not appear from it that he was brought into the room till Paul had departed (Acts xx. 7-12).

The author of Acts gives the stages of Paul's journey accurately but without comment, till the ship, having touched at Assos, Mitylene, Chios, and Samos, and according to some manuscripts at Trogyllium, came to

Miletus – Paul having decided not to go to Ephesus because he was anxious to reach Jerusalem before Pentecost.

At Miletus the Apostle made an affecting farewell to the elders of the Church of Ephesus, whom he had summoned to meet him.

First he reminded his hearers of his long service of the Lord at Ephesus, his lowliness of mind, his tears and his trials owing to the constant plots of the Jews against him. Not content with public preaching he had gone from house to house bearing witness alike to Jews and heathen of the need of repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus as their Lord (xx. 17-21).

"And now, I go, led as it were in bonds by the Spirit, to Jerusalem. I know not what awaits me; but in every city I go to the Spirit warns me to expect imprisonment. I care nothing for what happens, provided I may finish my course and fulfil the ministry which the Lord Jesus has given me. I know, however, that you, among whom I have preached the Kingdom, will see me no more. But I have done all I could, and declared God's purpose to you' (xx. 22.-27).

Then follows a solemn warning. 'Beware to guard the flock committed to you as its overseers (*bishops*) by the Holy Spirit. It was purchased by the blood of God's own Son.[1] Evil men, veritable wolves, are going to try to devour your flock. Be on the watch as I have often warned you' (xx. 28-31). The speech ends with a solemn commendation of the Ephesian's elders. Let them remember how for three years Paul worked to maintain himself and asked for nothing; that is the

[1] Or 'by God's own blood,' perhaps this was a very early reading from several similar Greek letters coming together.

way we should help the weak. All is summed up in a saying of the Lord Jesus: 'Happier it is to give than to receive' (xx. 32-35).

This beautiful farewell address, full as it is of Pauline phrases and illustrative of the pastoral spirit of the Apostle, hardly represents the Paul of the Epistles. It appears, to me at least, to be the work of one who appreciated Paul's character, better than he understood his purpose.

After taking an affectionate farewell of the Ephesian elders, Paul and his company continued to coast along Asia Minor till they came to its south-western extremity at Patara. There they embarked on a merchant ship and after a prosperous voyage past Cyprus reached Tyre; there they stayed seven days and Paul was solemnly warned by the brethren not to go to Jerusalem. The Christians took him to the shore and having knelt in prayer embraced him and his fellow travellers before they embarked. They landed for a day at Ptolemais; and the voyage ended at Cæsarea. There they stayed with Philip the Evangelist – one of the Seven (Deacons), who is the first missionary of the Gospel known to us, and his four prophetic daughters. From Agabus, who had foretold the famine many years before (Acts xi. 28), Paul received his last warning. Agabus bound his hands and feet, as an ancient prophet of Israel might have done, as a sign of what was to befall Paul at Jerusalem. Undismayed by the affectionate solicitations of the people of Cæsarea, Paul said, 'Why do you weep and break my heart? I am ready not only to be bound but to die at Jerusalem for the name of Lord Jesus.' They acquiesced in the solemn words, 'The Lord's will be done' (Acts xxi. 14).

The Church at Jerusalem had evidently every desire to receive honourably the delegation which was bringing the money of which they were in need. Mnason of Cyprus, who had been a disciple from the first, was at Cæsarea ready to escort them to his house (Acts xxi. 16). They prepared for their journey, travelled by land along the fertile plain of Sharon and ascended the dreary hills, on the top of which stood the Holy City, with the Temple in all its glory, almost finally completed, and on the verge of utter destruction.

Paul's party received a hearty welcome from the community at Jerusalem at the head of whom was James 'the brother' of Jesus. None of the Twelve who had formerly directed the affairs of the ancient Church appear now. The authorities are James and the Elders.

James was evidently highly revered in Jerusalem and the circles in which he presided are described as 'zealots for the Law,' for 'zealot' was at this time a title claiming respect rather than the name of a sect.[1] The Christian Church under such conditions was subject to no persecution in Jerusalem, but rather may have been much respected as a sect who accepted Jesus as the Messiah, but were chiefly remarkable for their scrupulous fulfilment of the Law.

Nay, strange as it may seem, James may have been the more honoured in Jerusalem, because of his relationship to Jesus. Our Lord, it must be remembered, was less than a week in the Holy City, where He was received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants as 'the

[1] See *Beginnings*, vol. I, Appendix A, in which it is shown that the Zealots as a faction do not appear till the outbreak of the Jewish War.

'prophet of Galilee.' For some reason He incurred the hostility of the priesthood, who raised the cry that He intended to destroy the Temple. By them He was arrested by night, tried before daybreak, and handed over to Pilate, who had Him crucified to prevent, as he supposed, the danger of a formidable riot. Some weeks later His followers openly declared that He had appeared to them in or near Jerusalem and in Galilee, and had been taken up into heaven, as Elijah had been. They formed themselves into a society which was favourably regarded by the people and even by the popular sect of the Pharisees, when they perceived the followers of Jesus constantly were in the Temple and scrupulously observing the Law. Their only persecutors were the High Priestly families, and these according to rabbinical tradition, were exceedingly unpopular because of their arrogance and rapacity. When serious trouble arose it was through the Hellenistic Jews, who compassed the death of Stephen by means of the irreligious and unpopular priestly aristocracy; and it was not, according to Acts, till after the conversion of Cornelius (Acts x) that Herod Agrippa I, who had lived most of his life at Rome and may be considered as a Hellenistic Jew, executed James the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter, in order to gratify the priests (Acts xii. 1). From that time James became the leader of the believers in Jesus.

Now James, as will be shown, was highly honoured for his devotion to the Law and his ascetic life, and his brother Jesus may well have come to be considered as a prophet who had fallen a victim to the priestly aristocracy and the Roman government, both being extremely

unpopular in Jerusalem. Consequently the people, as is implied in the early chapters of Acts, may have regarded the memory of Jesus with reverence and have believed that He might reappear as the Messiah. It is also possible that they called Jesus 'the Christ,' especially, as has been abundantly shown, as Messiah was a title bestowed on kings and priests ever since the days of Saul, and had not the tremendous import we attach to the word 'Christ.'[1]

Let us now see what Josephus, who was in, or in close communication with, Jerusalem at the time of the death of James, has to say concerning James.

'Now Ananus the younger, who we have said received the High Priesthood, was of a bold and very audacious disposition, and a member of the party of the Sadducees, who are the most cruel judges among the Jews, as we have previously shown. Ananus, being such a man, thought that, now Festus was dead, and Albinus his successor still on his way to Jerusalem, it was a good opportunity to assemble a Sanhedrin of judges, and to bring the brother of Jesus the so-called Christ before it, and also some others; and having charged them with disobeying the Law, he condemned them to be stoned. But the more moderate Jews, who accurately interpreted the Law, were much disgusted at this' (*Antiq.* Bk. XX. ix. 1). The result was that Agrippa II, with the approval of Albinus the new procurator, removed Ananus and put another in his place as High Priest.

This surely means that the trial and condemnation of James was considered a crime by the strict Jews of the Pharisaic party. It is also noteworthy that Josephus

[1] *Beginnings*, vol. 1, pp. 367ff.

in this chapter, the authenticity of which is unquestioned, says that Jesus was called 'The Christ.' Then there is the testimony of Hegesippus, a Christian writer, quoted by the historian Eusebius. Hegesippus wrote about A.D. 180, and, though his account differs from that of Josephus, it bears some signs of having at least a basis of probability buried under legendary accretions.

'James is called the Just by all from the time of our Saviour to the present day. He was holy from his mother's womb; and he drank no wine or strong drink, neither did he eat flesh. . . . He alone was permitted to the Holy Place. . . . He was in the habit of going alone into the Temple and was frequently found upon his knees, begging forgiveness for the people, so that his knees became hard like those of a camel. . . . Because of his great justice he was called the Just and Oblias, which signifies in Greek, "Bulwark of the people. . . ." Some of the Seven Sects asked, "What is the Door of Jesus?" and he replied that he was the Saviour . . . many believed and there was a danger of all the people going after Christ. . . . He was asked to persuade the multitude not to go astray after Jesus. . . . The Scribes and Pharisees placed him on a pinnacle of the Temple . . . and said "Thou just one in whom all ought to have confidence, forasmuch as the people have gone astray after Jesus the Crucified, declare what is the Door of Jesus. . . ." Thereupon James declared that Jesus is seated on the right hand of the Great Power and will come again in the clouds. . . . Thereupon James was stoned . . . when he was still sensible he prayed for his murderers; and a priest of the sons of Rechab bade them cease. Finally

a fuller dashed out his brains with a club' (*Eusebius H.E.* ii. 23).

From this it may be gathered that James was, according to early Christian legend, regarded by the Jews with extraordinary respect as an ascetic, like the Baptist, and constantly in the Temple, like Simeon and Anna. Further, he was supposed to know the truth about Jesus, and therefore when eschatological hopes of a miraculous deliverance were at their height, as they undoubtedly were just before the Jewish war, James was thought to be the right man to restrain them. As he refused to deny his belief that Jesus would come in glory, he was killed, but the most righteous of the priests regarded his death as a crime.

Thus there is something to be said for the theory that when Paul came to Jerusalem a few years before the war with the Romans, the community of Christians there was under a man universally honoured as James the Righteous, that all were Jews of spotless orthodoxy in regard to the Law, and that their belief in Jesus in no way detracted from the popular favour they enjoyed.

The delegation headed by Paul appeared before James and his elders, who listened with joy to the story of the conversion of the Gentiles. So far from hindering the good work, they had but one desire, namely, that Paul should clear himself of a false report that he had dissuaded the Jews of the Dispersion from observing the Law and circumcising their children. All that he need do was to perform the pious and popular duty of paying the expenses of some poor brethren who could not afford to discharge their vows in the Temple. As Paul had come to Jerusalem partly to discharge a vow

he had taken upon himself, he readily consented to do this; and, accompanied by the four Jewish Christians who were being discharged of their vow by his liberality, he frequented the Temple for several days. Paul, as we have seen, had been allowed to travel to Jerusalem without hindrance; and with his Gentile convert Trophimus of Ephesus, and probably St. Luke, had been well received by the synagogue of the Christian observers of the Law. It seemed as though all was going well, when his enemies, the Jews from Asia, brought a charge against him which placed his life in great jeopardy.

The Temple area was a large square, at this time surrounded by colonnades, to which all comers were admitted. But the Temple itself might not be entered by anyone except a Jew. Around its enclosure columns were set up with a notice on each that any Gentile who passed the boundary would do so at the cost of his life.

Paul's inveterate enemies, the Jews from the province of Asia, who had recognized him in the city with his Gentile convert, Trophimus of Ephesus, when they saw him performing the ceremonies necessary for the discharge of his vow, raised a cry that here was the Apostate who had spoken 'everywhere against the People of God, the Law, and the Temple' and to crown it all had now introduced Greeks into the sacred precincts and defiled the Holy Place itself (Acts xxi. 28). This last charge would be sufficient to justify the Jews putting him to death; and, even if the Roman soldiers rescued him from the populace, and he could be proved guilty, the government was bound to enforce the penalty.

A terrible riot ensued, a mob of fanatics dragged

Paul out of the Temple and was preparing to kill him. Directly he heard of the commotion the commander of the fortress of the Antonia, which overlooked the Temple, rushed down at the head of his troops and arrested Paul from the frantic populace, the soldiers carrying him up the steps which led to their quarters in the castle or fortress of Antonia, which overlooked the Temple, amid shouts of 'kill him' (Acts xxi. 31 - 36).

As it was impossible to ascertain from the excited multitude what Paul had done, the military governor of Jerusalem, whose name was Claudius Lysias, learning, much to his surprise, that Paul was not an Egyptian leader of the *sicarii* or daggermen who, according to Josephus, were giving much trouble at this time, but an educated citizen of Tarsus who spoke Greek, allowed him to address the people. Directly he began to speak in their native language the crowd listened in silence as he told them of his early life as a disciple of Gamaliel, his zeal for the Law, his activity as a persecutor. It is remarkable that his mention of the appearance of Jesus at his conversion provoked no hostility. Not till Paul declared that Jesus had sent him to the heathen did the fury of the people manifest itself with cries, 'Away with the fellow from the earth, for it is not right that he should live' (Acts xxii. 22).

Claudius Lysias now resolved to try the effect of torture by scourging on Paul; but, on the Apostle declaring himself a Roman citizen by birth, he was compelled to refrain, feeling that he had already exceeded his powers by so much as putting him in fetters. Thus ended, at any rate for some years, the active ministry of Paul, now in charge of the Roman soldiers in the Antonia at Jerusalem.

XVIII

ROMAN AND JEWISH TRIBUNALS

If the student of Acts examines the contents of the book by a simple arithmetical process, he will find that the subject of Paul's defence after his arrest at Jerusalem is treated at a length disproportionate to all that is related of his active labours. These begin to be related in the thirteenth chapter; and from that point to Paul's arrest they occupy only twice as much as the space devoted to the adventures and defences of Paul before Jews and Romans down to his arrival at Rome. Nor does this include the vivid story of his voyage and shipwreck. To the man who wrote or edited Acts, the question of Paul's innocence in regard to the charge that he had introduced heathen into the Temple must have been of the utmost importance.

Claudius Lysias brought the Apostle, the day after his arrest, into the Sanhedrin to answer for himself to the High Priest and the official rulers. Paul's conduct on this occasion reveals something of the state of parties in Jerusalem and it should be noted that, throughout, his persistent enemies were the priestly hierarchy, and here it is well to notice that this does not imply any fanaticism on the part of a prejudiced clergy, for of all men, the priests of Jerusalem were the least likely to be swayed by religious bigotry. They had become an aristocratic order rather than a professional priesthood; in fact, the people were zealous whilst the ruling hierarchy was lukewarm. If they were active in bringing about the crucifixion of Jesus, the persecution of His Apostles, and desired the death of Paul, it was less

because they were religious innovators, than that as such they might possibly disturb the tranquillity, on the preservation of which the privileges of the Priests of the Temple depended. Accordingly, when Paul appeared before the Sanhedrin, Ananias, the High Priest, showed no desire to hear him, but ordered the bystanders to smite him on the mouth. Not knowing who the speaker was, Paul rebuked him, but, learning it was the High Priest himself, he offered an apology.

It was, however, evident that he could get no justice from such a tribunal. In all probability the case had broken down, there being no one able to prove that he had brought a heathen within the sacred precincts. Had Paul done so, his doom would have been sealed. So outrageous an insult to the Temple would have made all parties his enemies: even the believers in Jesus who were zealous for the Law, would not have raised a hand to save him. It is doubtful if Claudius Lysias would have dared to provoke the riot which would have resulted by protecting so wanton an offender, Roman citizen though he was. It must be borne in mind that the trial before the Sanhedrin was not for opinion; all turned on a matter of fact. The gross violation of all decency on the part of the High Priest proved that Paul was innocent of the serious charge brought against him, and it was evident that the command to smite the accused had alienated the sympathy of his judges. Paul caught at the opportunity; he declared himself 'a Pharisee and the son of Pharisees' and that the real issue was not whether he had broken the Law but his doctrine of the resurrection, which was part of the Pharisaic belief. If this artifice was unworthy of the Apostle, and later he expressed his regret for

resorting to it (Acts xxiv. 21) it broke up the council and probably saved his life. Claudius Lysias, perceiving Paul's life was in danger, ordered the soldiers to bring him back to the Antonia. That night a vision assured him that he was destined to testify to his Lord in Rome (Acts xxiii. 11).

Baffled in their attempt to destroy Paul on a criminal charge, his enemies had recourse to violence. Forty fanatics bound themselves by a solemn curse neither to eat nor drink till they killed him, and the priests, being made privy to this atrocious conspiracy, decided to ask that they might again have Paul before them. As is usual in a plot in which a large number are engaged, the secret leaked out and Paul's sister's son informed Lysias of the conspiracy, and the military governor took prompt steps to frustrate it by ordering a force of nearly five hundred men to escort Paul out of Jerusalem and to take him to Cæsarea to Felix the Procurator of Judæa (Acts xxiii. 12 - 35).

The fact that a small army was employed on such a service may arouse suspicion that the author of Acts was guilty of unpardonable exaggeration; and the whole matter deserves careful consideration, as it not only calls in question his veracity, but also may throw a light on the position of Paul at the time and on the condition of Palestine. There is a persistent effort made by writers of all schools to show that Paul and most of the Christians of this period belonged to the lower order of society. Having dedicated his whole life to preaching the Gospel at his own expense, supporting himself by manual labour, he was unquestionably at times reduced to want; but at the same time, as has been previously shown, Paul was at the head of a numerous and

active body of preachers, and had friends and relatives scattered throughout the Jewish world. He had come to Jerusalem to help the poor, bringing with him the representatives of several cities – some of them (Corinth Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Antioch),[1] were extremely wealthy. He had been received by James, the respected head of a community honoured for its reverence for the Law. If Paul had bitter enemies in Jerusalem he had also many friends, and the Pharisaic party was on his side as against the Sadducean priestly aristocrats. It is quite conceivable that, had he been murdered by the fanatics, his death would have provoked a serious faction fight; and it was necessary, in order that peace might be preserved, that he should be *at all costs taken safely out of Jerusalem.* We have besides the testimony of Josephus that in the days of Felix the country was seething with brigandage, and that the people were on the verge of rebellion. It need not therefore excite wonder that Claudius Lysias took extraordinary precautions to protect Paul, and to free himself from the consequences of any disturbance, by sending the Apostle out of Jerusalem under cover of night that the Procurator might keep him in custody in the non-Jewish city of Cæsarea Stratonis. Whether genuine or not, the letter attributed to Claudius Lysias reporting the affair to Felix is exactly what might be expected from a subordinate to his superiors. The writer's object is clearly to place his conduct in the most favourable light.

The letter informed the Procurator that Paul had been in danger of his life, owing to an assault made on

[1] Luke, according to tradition, was a native of Antioch; and, it may be, represented it on this occasion as a delegate carrying its contribution to Jerusalem.

him by the Jews, and that the writer, on learning he was a Roman citizen, had sent an armed force to save him. Having brought him before the Sanhedrin, he found that he was charged with offences against the Jewish Law, but not with any crime worthy of death. As a plot to kill the prisoner had been discovered, Claudius Lysias thought it best to send Paul to Felix, and to order his accusers to appear before the governor at Cæsarea. Felix read the letter, inquired as to Paul's native province, and ordered him to be kept till his accusers should present themselves in the palace (*prætorium*) of Herod (Acts xxiii. 26 - 35).

Both Josephus and Tacitus agree in describing Felix as a thoroughly bad man, and St. Luke's narrative shows that he was venal and corrupt. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to have some pity for any official, however wicked, who had the task of administering Judæa at this time. The difficulties of anyone who attempted the task of governing the country were such that it was impossible to emerge with credit; and Felix had been at least able to continue some years in his position, and, by fair means or foul, to maintain a certain amount of order.

He was of servile origin, and owed his preferment to his brother Pallas, the freedman of Antonia mother of Claudius, and a person of great influence under that Emperor, and also in the early days of Nero. Josephus and Tacitus are at hopeless disagreement about Felix, especially in regard to his marriage; for Tacitus says he married Drusilla, the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, instead of Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa II and Berenice.[1] Anyhow, if Tacitus' epigrammatic

[1] In his *History* v. 9, Tacitus says that Claudius and Felix were related, since the Emperor was the grandson of Mark Antony as Felix became by his marriage. He has evidently made a mistake about Drusilla.

saying that he exercised 'The power of a prince with the disposition of a slave' be true, Felix was lacking neither in energy nor capacity. He is accused of basely conniving at the murder of the virtuous High Priest Jonathan by the *sicarii*, but he put down Eleazar, a robber chief (*Wars* Bk. II. xiii. 2) composed what threatened to be a civil war between the Greeks and Jews in Cæsarea (*Antiq.* XX. viii. 7) and suppressed the formidable rebellion of an Egyptian Jewish impostor in Jerusalem. The Jews of Cæsarea accused Felix at Rome before Nero, but by the influence of Pallas he was acquitted (*Antiq.* XX. viii. 9).

Five days after the arrival of Paul at Cæsarea, the High Priest Ananias and the Jewish elders came there with an advocate named Tertullus. The sum of his accusation against Paul was that, as the leader of the faction of the Nazoreans (for so the Christians were called), he was a public nuisance to the Jews throughout the world. But Tertullus had a bad case; for no judge would condemn a Roman citizen on such grounds, and the most that could be said on the capital charge was that Paul had *tried* to profane the Temple (Acts xxiv. 6).

Paul's defence, briefly as it is given, was complete. He had been to Jerusalem to worship, he had caused no disturbance, and though he represented a so-called sect of Judaism, he worshipped the God of his Fathers, as he was permitted to do by Roman Law. The cardinal doctrine of his sect was a belief in a resurrection of just and unjust, which was implicit in the Jewish scriptures. He had not been to Jerusalem for many years, had come on a charitable errand, and had been found submitting to ritual purifications. Where, he asked, were the

Asian Jews, who ought to have come to prove the alleged offence of introducing heathen into the Temple? Finally, he challenged the priests to say whether they had found anything wrong about him, when he stood before them in the Sanhedrin, except His declaring that he was really on trial because of his belief in a resurrection (Acts xxiv. 10-21).

This plea was unanswerable; and as Felix knew more about the matter than the Jews suspected, he remanded Paul to the care of a centurion, and gave orders that his friends should be allowed to visit him. Perhaps the author of Acts attempts to explain the knowledge of 'the Way' which Felix possessed by the fact that he had married a Jewish princess; anyhow, he mentions Drusilla in connection with Felix and his interviews with Paul about the new faith, when Paul spoke of 'righteousness and judgment to come' and Felix 'trembled.'

As Paul had, if not money of his own, at least friends who could supply it, Felix is said to have kept him in prison; and, when summoned to Rome to answer to the accusations of the Jews, the Procurator hoped to satisfy them by leaving Paul in bonds. Thus two years of complete inactivity at Cæsarea passed before Paul's case was resumed. During the whole of his imprisonment at Cæsarea we hear nothing about Paul, which is the more remarkable as the author of Acts may have been with him. Nor was any letter of his assigned in antiquity to this period, and there is no tradition about it. For two years we are left in complete ignorance; but at the end the Apostle appears once more, vigorous in mind, and able to prove himself undaunted in days of peril and shipwreck.

Felix was succeeded as procurator by Porcius Festus who, three days after his arrival at Cæsarea, went to Jerusalem, where the chief priests, doubtless in the hope of presuming on his ignorance of Jewish affairs, begged that he would send Paul to them. Acts says that the idea was to kill Paul on his way to the city; but Festus was too wise to assent to the priests' request. He suggested that they should accompany him to Cæsarea, and there prefer their complaints against Paul. These were 'many and grievous' but could not shake Paul's defence that he had committed no offence against the Jewish Law, the Temple or the Roman State. Festus, in hopes of gratifying the Jews, asked Paul if he would consent to go to Jerusalem and stand his trial. This caused decisive action on his part. As a Roman citizen he had the right to appeal to the tribunes of the people; and, as he could obtain no justice in Cæsarea, he boldly pronounced the words, 'I appeal to Cæsar.' The Emperor was vested with tribunician power and consequently constituted in himself the final court of appeal. Festus, astonished at this turn of affairs, conferred with his council, but the action of Paul could not be gainsaid, and the Procurator said, 'Hast thou appealed to Cæsar? Unto Cæsar shalt thou go.'

At this point there appears on the scene the last prominent member of the famous Herodian family, a race conspicuous for men and women renowned alike for their ability, beauty, ruthlessness and profligacy. In the Acts, however, Herod Agrippa II is represented on this occasion to have acted the part of an attentive auditor and a courteous and considerate judge.

This Herod was the son of a prince of the same name

who, as King of Judæa, has gone down to posterity as the the first royal persecutor of the Church. He had been, however, not altogether unjustly, regarded by the Jews as an excellent monarch. He was acceptable to his Hebrew subjects as representing in the female line the great Maccabean princes. But his son, though he was in high favour with the Roman government, was not given his paternal kingdom of Judæa, but had been entrusted with the custody of the Temple treasury and the appointment of the High Priest, the religious ruler of Judaism. Thus Agrippa, king of part of Northern Palestine, was, at least in Jewish affairs, in a sense a colleague of Festus. True to the tradition of his family, this Herod was always loyal to the Roman government, and in the Jewish War was on the side of the conquerors. He never failed, however, to do all he could to help his countrymen before the outbreak of hostilities; and did all in his power to avert the catastrophe by representing to them the folly of engaging in a war with Rome. On this occasion he was accompanied by his sister Berenice, a fascinating but utterly profligate lady; and dreadful stories were current among the Jews and Romans concerning her intercourse with her brother. Nevertheless, she once displayed a magnanimity, shown by other princesses of her family, by appearing to intercede for the Jews in the guise of a suppliant with bare feet, and narrowly escaped from the brutal Procurator Gessius Florus with her life. She was greatly beloved by the Emperor Titus, who later, to avoid the indignation of the Romans, dismissed her from Rome with regret. Her brother was the patron and friend of Josephus, and survived till the principate of Trajan, dying A.D. 100.

Festus brought Paul's case before Agrippa and asked his advice as to how he should report the matter to Augustus (Nero). Agrippa gladly consented to allow the Apostle to appear before him and to explain his doctrine and opinions.

The speech of Paul is given at length; and, whether it is his own or a composition of the author of Acts, it is of the highest interest and importance.

'I consider myself fortunate, King Agrippa, to have the opportunity of defending myself to thee because thou knowest all the customs of us Jews and our disputes (Acts xxvi. 1 - 3).

'Everyone of the Jews knows what my life was from my youth in Jerusalem; that I was a Pharisee, the most scrupulous party in our religion, and I am now on my trial because of the hope I have in the promise made to our fathers, to which our twelve tribes who serve God continually hope to attain. On account of this hope I am accused by the Jews. Why should not you believe that God will raise the dead? I thought myself that I ought to oppose the name of Jesus the Nazorean' (Acts xxvi. 4 - 9).

This exordium is most skilful. Paul makes Agrippa aware that the conspiracy against his life is mainly Sadducean, and instigated by the priestly hierarchy; and he adopts the same line of defence on this occasion as he had done before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem (Acts xxiii. 6*ff.*). But he declares further that his own belief in a resurrection depends on the faith he has in Jesus, a statement in strict accordance with his doctrine in his Epistles. As a Pharisee he taught the resurrection and

hoped for it, as a Christian he was assured as to its certainty. Then, as he did in his speech on the Castle steps (Acts xxii. 4*ff*.), Paul describes his conversion; and here the words attributed to him are difficult to reconcile, not only with my personal contention that, in Jerusalem at least, the Jewish believers in Jesus were never seriously molested, but with the ancient sources employed in the composition of the earlier chapters of Acts.

'And I did this in Jerusalem and many of the holy ones I imprisoned, having authority from the chief priests. And when they were being put to death I gave my vote against them, and punishing them in my synagogues I used to compel them to blaspheme, and being very mad with them I pursued them as far as the cities outside' (Jerusalem) (Acts xxvi. 10, 11).

This would imply that the persecution (related in Acts vi - vii) was a bloody one, that Stephen was not the only victim, and that systematic judicial proceedings were taken and resulted in executions, whereas certainly one source represents the death of Stephen as tumultuary rather than regular. It would also appear that the Jews were the first to resort to the practice of the Roman officials, the earliest mention of which is Pliny's letter to Trajan (*cf.* A.D. 110), and forced the believers to blaspheme Jesus. Where so much of the defence before Agrippa has the appearance of being a report of one who heard it, it can only be suggested that the writer, carried away by his own rhetoric, ascribes to St. Paul words more applicable to a later time.

The account of the conversion differs in some respects from that in Acts ix. and from Paul's speech in Acts xxii. It relates that the risen Jesus spoke in the Hebrew dialect (Aramean), and repeats His words inserted in later manuscripts in Acts ix. 5, 'It is hard for thee to kick against the goad.' The conclusion of the address is eloquent and impressive.

'Wherefore, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, but first to those in Damascus and in Jerusalem and in all Judæa, and (then) to the Gentiles, I proclaimed that men should repent and turn to God, and do works worthy of repentance. For this reason the Jews caught me in the Temple and tried to kill me. But, by the help of God unto this day, I have stood testifying to small and great, saying nothing more than the prophets and Moses himself have said will come to pass, that the Messiah is to suffer, and, by being the first to rise from the dead, will proclaim light to the People of Israel and to the Gentiles' (Acts xxvi. 19–23).

Festus interrupted Paul: 'Thou art beside thyself; much learning hath made thee mad.' Paul replied that he was not mad, but was speaking words of truth and soberness, as King Agrippa must know, for the work of Jesus was not 'done in a corner.' Then turning to the King, Paul said solemnly, 'King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.' Half jestingly the monarch, in the words of the Authorized, and all the older English versions, made a remark (whether correctly translated or not) which has become proverbial. 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Chris-

tian.' With great gravity the Apostle replied, 'I would to God that not only thou but all that hear me were both almost and altogether such as I am,' adding with sad courtesy 'except these bonds' (Acts xxvi. 28, 29). Thereupon Festus, Agrippa, and their assessors conferred and the King gave judgment. 'This man might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.' Thus Paul's anxious captivity in Judæa ended with his acquittal by the secular head of the Jewish religion, who, if not King of Judæa, made and unmade High Priests according to his will and pleasure.

XIX

PAUL IN ROME

One of the finest contributions to the understanding of Acts was made in the middle of the nineteenth century by a Scottish gentleman, James Smith of Jordan Hill, who after a minute study of the Mediterranean and the condition of navigation, explained the chapters in which the voyage to Rome and the shipwreck are related. In a life of St. Paul a detailed account of the voyage is scarcely necessary; all that is really needed is to see how the story as told in Acts, instructive as it is in other respects, illustrates the character of the Apostle.

The voyage was a stormy one from the first. The ship on which the centurion, by name Julius, had embarked the prisoners had some difficulty in reaching the south-western extremity of Asia Minor, where they took a passage in a large corn ship of Alexandria bound for Italy. She was not a seaworthy vessel, perhaps even for the period, since she became a hopeless wreck in the open sea, owing to the force of violent gales which lasted for fully a fortnight. She was navigated by a master who may have known that it was imprudent to continue the voyage, but was overruled by his owner and the Roman officer, both of whom were ready to risk the danger of getting to a more convenient harbour. The crew appears to have been ill-disciplined and cowardly, ready to abandon the passengers to certain destruction in order to save themselves. There were seventy persons at least, and according to most manuscripts two hundred and seventy, a by no means impossible number for a large ship to carry in the first

century. Josephus was wrecked on a vessel with about six hundred souls on board. St. Luke, who was with Paul, together with another Christian, Aristarchus of Thessalonica, shows his usual care in marking the stages of the journey.

The centurion, who was named Julius, put to sea from Cæsarea to Sidon, where he courteously allowed Paul to land and visit his friends, who contributed to the comfort of his long voyage. After sailing under the lee of Cyprus, owing to contrary winds, they crossed the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia and disembarked at Myra in Lycia, where they took passage on the Alexandrian corn ship. Owing to adverse winds it took many days to reach Cnidus, the last promontory of Asia Minor, and the travellers with difficulty arrived at Salmone, the eastern cape of Crete. A troublesome voyage along the lee shore brought them to a little seaport called Fair Havens. They should have put in there for the winter; but, as the weather improved, it was decided to try to reach a better harbour called Phœnix. It was already autumn; the Fast (the day of Atonement) was over, and Paul, whose experience as a traveller made his opinion of value, was called in to confer with the principal officers on board. Julius seems to have had the casting vote, and preferred the advice of the professional sailors to that of an experienced landsman. He had cause to regret his decision, for suddenly a violent wind, locally known as the Euraquilo (a north-easter), came down from the Cretan mountains and drove the vessel past the islet of Cauda into the open sea. It is a remarkable example of the crudity of ancient navigation that a large ship had only one small boat which was towed astern. This was,

however, drawn up into the ship; and for days the storm continued with unabated force. As the ship appeared likely to founder at any moment, all that could be done was to prevent her being carried into the Syrtis, on the inhospitable coast of North Africa, and to lighten her by every possible means. All, except Paul, abandoned hope, especially as in the darkness of the storm neither sun nor star gave any clue as to their whereabouts. At last, however, the ship drifted upon the shallows off Malta and went to pieces. All, however, landed in safety and were kindly received by the inhabitants. They remained there for three months, when the centurion and his prisoners embarked on another Alexandrian ship called the *Dioscori* (Castor and Pollux). They had a favourable voyage to Syracuse, passed Rhegium, and landed at Puteoli, near Naples, making their way to Rome by land, and being met by Christians at *Appii Forum* and the *Three Taverns* (*Acts* xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16).

The important feature of the whole voyage was the part played throughout by the Apostle, and the sobriety of the narrative, which, amid all the terrors of the tempest, attributes to him nothing more miraculous than a vision, extremely natural under the circumstances, and makes Paul act with a courage and commonsense which caused him, prisoner though he was, to become the actual leader of the panic-stricken crew. He foresaw clearly the danger of thinking a temporarily favourable breeze would carry the ship from Fair Havens to Phœnix. When all despaired, he assured the whole company that they would be saved if only they did not lose heart. He frustrated the cowardly attempt of the sailors to escape in the little boat from the wrecked

vessel, and he made all take a regular meal before they abandoned the ship. No wonder Julius 'wishing to save Paul,' prevented the soldiers from killing the prisoners. In Malta he maintained his ascendancy, first by shaking off a snake which had bitten him, then by praying and healing the father of the governor of the island; and finally by the attention he and his companions showed to the sick and the cures miraculous and otherwise they effected.

Arrived at Rome, Paul, who had been heartily welcomed by the Christian community, having gone many miles from the city to meet him, was given the privileges of an honoured prisoner; and, under what was known as *custodia libera*, allowed to live where he chose under the guardianship of a soldier. He must have had influential adherents both in Palestine and Rome to secure him such lenient treatment, which certainly must have been costly to the Apostle or to his friends (Acts xxviii. 16).

Paul's first act was to summon the Jewish elders to a conference and to assure them that he had no complaint against his nation, but had been compelled in self-defence to appeal to the Emperor at Rome. They replied that they had no communication from Jerusalem about him, but would be interested to hear what his real opinions were. Having appointed a day, Paul reasoned with them out of Moses and the Prophets. As the meeting broke up Paul told them, with a quotation from Isaiah which Jesus Himself had used in relation to His parables, that henceforth the salvation of God was for the Gentiles (Acts xxviii. 17 - 28).

'And he remained two whole years in his own lodging, and received all who came to him, proclaim-

ing the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, without hindrance.' With these words the narrative of Acts abruptly concludes; and we have no further direct information about St. Paul. All we can do is to inquire from his later Epistles what he reveals about his sojourn in Rome, and then to discover what happened, taking as our guide the letters to Timothy and Titus, known as the Pastoral Epistles, and attributed at a very early date to the Apostle. In the end we are left to the testimony of the tradition of the Christian Church. But after the two years' imprisonment at Rome, Paul becomes an increasingly shadowy figure, and the last days of the greatest missionary of Christ, and the teacher whose words have had the most abiding effect on the Faith, are lost in obscurity.

Supposing that Paul reached Rome in the spring of A.D. 60, and that Acts takes us to the year 62, this would be two years before the fire and, so far as we know, the first Gentile persecution of the Church. Paul, as has been evident from Acts, was in no danger from the government because of his opinions, being as a Jew protected by law as regards religion. All the Jews could urge was that he was an apostate, and no Jew, and consequently had placed himself outside the toleration granted to their faith; but to this no Roman official nor even a Jew like Agrippa II, was prepared to listen for an instant. If his enemies urged that he was guilty of sedition or disloyalty (*maiestas*) he was liable to be condemned to death; but no one took this charge seriously. For some reason or another the trial was postponed, but when the law courts are fully occupied, this is easily accounted for. According to Acts the

Jews were not particularly anxious to have the case tried and long remained inactive. It seems clear that, unless the author of Acts intended to write another book which he never published, and this is pure hypothesis, he ended at a dramatic point, and meant to leave the impression that Paul was acquitted at Rome. Even the 'soldier that kept him' in Acts xxviii. 16, disappears in the concluding verse of Acts.

It has been maintained also that Paul was put to death at the end of two years of captivity at Rome. But this seems in absolute conflict with the purpose of Acts, which lays stress on his being allowed to preach without hindrance. Some, who uphold this view of Paul's death, assign Acts to the last years of the first century. This would falsify the entire argument; for it would be easy for anyone to add, 'At the end of which period he was beheaded, and the Jews won their case against Paul.' The apparent object of the history of the Apostle, as related in this book, is to prove that he was not guilty in the eyes of the Roman authorities; and, if he was executed on that account immediately after the concluding verses were written, Acts must be very early indeed.

There are four letters of Paul's which are generally assigned to the period of his Roman captivity, one being no more than a brief note to Philemon. Of the three others, Philippians strikes a decidedly personal note, being addressed to Paul's beloved converts at Philippi; Colossians is sent to a church to whom the Apostle was apparently personally unknown, and its companion letter, the so-called 'Epistle to the Ephesians,' is of the nature of a discourse sent in a circular letter to several churches. There is great difference

of opinion as to the date of Philippians, and also as to the place where it was written. Some think it belongs to the period of Paul's active life during his long sojuorn at Ephesus, in opposition to the older view that it belongs to the Roman captivity. If the earlier date is maintained, it is possible that Paul wrote to the Philippians not from Ephesus, but from Cæsarea.

Assuming, therefore, though it is by no means certain, that Paul wrote to Philippi from Rome, we may collect two possible allusions to this period:

(1) Paul was in bonds for his defence of the Gospel (Phil. i. 7).

(2) His afflictions had proved serviceable to the cause because his imprisonment is known in all the *prætorium* – whether this means the camp of the prætorian guards, or the soldiers themselves is uncertain. The fact that he is a prisoner has encouraged the brethren to preach God's Word, though some do it through jealousy, thinking to add to his affliction. However, the Apostle consoles himself with the thought that, *whatever the motive of his rivals may be, Christ is* being preached (Phil. i. 15-20).

This might well happen in Rome; for we know from the Epistle to the Church there that Paul had many opponents who disliked his teaching and these would gladly counteract it; and hoped to do so without contradiction when they saw he was a prisoner.

(3) He hopes to send Timothy to Philippi for news of his friends, and he has already dispatched Epaphroditus who has been very ill owing to the extreme zeal with which he has ministered to the Apostle, and doing what the Philippians would gladly have done: Paul also has great hopes of being at liberty to come himself.

to Philippi (Phil. ii. 19-24, 25-30). At the same time the Apostle seems to forebode that his life is near its end (Phil. i. 20, ii. 17, iii. 10).

(4) He bids the Philippians beware of the Judaic party of the circumcision (Phil. iii. 2). As has been indicated, these must have been very active in Rome.

(5) He rejoices that the Philippians have again remembered him and sent to minister to his necessities, which at times must have been very great at Rome, where if chained to a soldier he could not work for his living (Phil. iv. 10-12, 15).

(6) Lastly, he mentions the house (or *familia*) of the Emperor, which would not be as appropriate anywhere as at Rome (Phil. iv. 22).

Now we know from the testimony of the catacombs that the Christian religion had taken a great hold in the Roman upper classes; and it is wellnigh certain that under the Flavian Emperors (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian) it had a footing in the imperial household. We know further that Nero's wife Poppæa had Jewish sympathies, and as she died as late as A.D. 65, the new sect may have been known among her entourage. Scanty as the material which is supplied by this Philippian letter, it may give us a glimpse of what Paul was doing during his captivity.

The three letters to Philemon, Colossians and Ephesians belong to a group by themselves. Allusion has already been made to the graceful way in which Paul asks Philemon to receive with gentleness his runaway slave Onesimus, who had apparently been found in Rome, and had been converted by the Apostle, and became his devoted attendant. In this letter Paul

describes himself as 'aged man' (another reading is 'an ambassador') and also a prisoner. His companions are Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas and Lucas; and we know from Acts that Aristarchus of Thessalonica accompanied Paul on his voyage to Rome (Acts xxviii. 2), as did Luke, if he is the author of the 'We-Sections.' Mark also is connected with the Roman Church. (II Timothy iv. ii).

Those who salute the Colossians are Tychicus, the bearer of the letter, who, with all the others, is named in the letter to Timothy. From this we may infer that Paul was able to send his missionaries from Rome to Asia Minor, and so maintain his influences over the churches which he or they had founded.

The Colossian letter is of particular interest, as it deals with a form of asceticism of a Gnostic type prevalent in that church. That Paul had never been there himself is a proof of the close connection he maintained *even at Rome with the churches of Asia, and of the* knowledge of what was going on in so distant a place. Rome, one of the most cosmopolitan of cities, was affected by all religious movements; and this heresy of Colossæ, whether it is correctly called Gnostic or not, was certainly Jewish in character, and had probably spread to Rome, so that the Apostle may have spoken from experience rather than hearsay.

The letter to the Ephesians is in many respects similar to the Colossian, though it possesses special features of its own. Still, its absence of all personal allusions makes it, important as it is for Pauline theology, of little service for our present purpose. There remain only the three Pastoral Epistles, the genuineness of which has been sharply criticized. But whether they are by Paul or not they are of significance to his bi o-

grapher, as they are the most ancient testimony to the later life of the Apostle.

The objection to their being, as they stand, Paul's composition, can be briefly stated.

The vocabulary is so different from that of the Pauline Epistles, that all, even the most conservative critics, have recognized the fact. It is also obvious that the language employed is not altogether due to the peculiar subjects dealt with in these letters, and the explanation that Paul adopted a new phraseology in his later life is not entirely satisfying.

Less obvious, but even more significant, is that the teaching of the letters, though resembling that of Paul elsewhere, is not exactly his. The tone is not really that adopted in the earlier Epistles, and there are indications that the writer at times did not quite grasp the meaning of the Apostle's position. The same has been noticed above in some of the speeches put into his mouth in Acts.

The interest of these Epistles is centred in regulations affecting order and discipline, and in emphasizing the importance of the traditions of the Church; and though Paul shows his ability elsewhere as an organizer, the spirit of the Pastoral Epistles is somehow different.

On the other hand, the canonicity or acceptance of these Epistles as of Paul by the Church, is beyond question. No one seems to have doubted either their authorship or their authority from the second century onward, except the heretic Marcion, whose erroneous doctrine must never cause us to be unjust to his critical capacity. Here, however, our business is to see what light the Epistles to Titus and Timothy may throw on the career of Paul after the two years at Rome,

mentioned at the conclusion of Acts. One cannot overlook the theory that the Pastorals may have been based on genuine letters, written by the Apostle to his trusted associates at the time when, according to Acts, he was active in Ephesus and Macedonia, and expanded by a redactor. Assuming, however, that they refer to the later period, we must endeavour to glean from them the facts actually alluded to and, despite all the imaginary details found in the popular lives of St. Paul, we must admit that the results are somewhat scanty.

Paul may, on his liberation from his Roman captivity, have gone to Asia where he had expressed a hope of paying a visit to Philemon (Phil. 22). According to the Pastoral Epistles he went to Ephesus, where he left Timothy to set the church in order and to combat the heresies prevalent there, especially those of two unknown leaders, Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 3, 19, 20). It seems that during his stay at Ephesus, or more possibly at Macedonia, he visited Crete, and left Titus there, as he had done Timothy at Ephesus. He intended to send Tychicus, the bearer of the Colossian letter, to Titus, or else a man named Artemas. Zenas 'the lawyer' and Apollos, who were with Titus, are to be sent on their journey and supplied with all necessaries. When Tychicus or Artemas came to Crete, Titus was to rejoin Paul at Nicopolis in Epirus, where he proposed to spend the winter. The very obscurity of the allusions at the end of the letter to Titus are in favour of its being, in part at least, a genuine document (Titus iii. 12 - 14).

The Second Epistle to Timothy contains more notices of a personal character. Paul is apparently at

Rome, forsaken by some of his old companions, who, like Demas, have loved this present world. Only Luke has remained with him. Timothy is to come as soon as he can, and bring Mark. He is to go by way of Troas, where Paul had left his cloak and some important parchments at the house of Carpus. A bitter enemy, called Alexander the coppersmith, is mentioned, as is also the Apostle's 'first defence' in some Roman court, from which he has been delivered 'from the mouth of the lion' (2 Tim. iv. 9 - 18). Onesiphorus, an Asiatic for whose house Paul asks a blessing, has sought him out in Rome, otherwise all his Asian friends have failed him (2 Tim. i. 15 - 18). He salutes Prisca and Aquila, who were apparently at Ephesus, and despite of his having said, 'Only Luke is with me,' sends greetings from Eubulus, Pudens, Linus and Claudia (2 Tim. iv. 19, 21). Linus is supposed to be the first bishop of Rome. Of Pudens and Claudia it will be necessary to speak later.

In this Epistle Paul is evidently certain that his last hour is nigh: 'Already I am being poured forth (as a libation) and the time of my dissolution has come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith' (2 Tim. iv. 6, 7).

This is all we can learn from the New Testament by the dubious light of the Pastoral Epistles. If we would follow Paul to the end it is amid the darkness of tradition.

XX

LEGENDARY HISTORY OF ST. PAUL

For the last days of Paul we have no guide but tradition; and it is well to remind oneself that tradition, although not always reliable, is not for that reason negligible. When, for example, we find an almost universal belief that Paul suffered death by being beheaded at Rome in the days of Nero, the *onus probandi* rests with those who would deny the fact. And the tradition of the ancient Roman Church cannot be lightly set aside, whatever our attitude towards the Church of Rome to-day may be. From the first it was distinguished by a conservatism impatient of any innovations, even though for its own apparent benefit. It claimed unbroken continuity and unsullied orthodoxy, and was looked up to from very early days as a model for lesser churches. It constantly claimed that was in a twofold sense Apostolic in so far as its foundations were laid by Peter, the Apostle of the Jews and Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles. It asserted that both had suffered death by martyrdom in Rome, and called itself 'the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul.' The first known writer to emphasize this claim for its pre-eminence was not a Roman, but an Asiatic bishop, presiding over a church in Gaul in the person of St. Irenæus.

Irenæus is the representative of both traditional and cosmopolitan Christianity. He tells us that when he was a boy he remembers seeing Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who had known the Apostle John. Polycarp must have been born in, and possibly even before, the last quarter of the first century; for, at the time of his

martyrdom, in A.D. 156, he says he had served Christ for eighty-six years. The tradition of Irenæus, therefore, goes back far into the Apostolic Age. In the days of Irenæus nothing, not even the written records of the New Testament, was so highly prized in the early Church as tradition; because it was the boast of every Christian teacher, even if he were considered heretical, that he handed down his doctrine as it had been received from the original disciples of Jesus. Irenæus had left his native home for distant Gaul, and had settled at Lyons, a Greek-speaking trading settlement on the river Rhone. He had spent much time in Rome lecturing against the heresies which the Gnostics were labouring to introduce. The most potent weapon he found against these was tradition; for when the new teachers declared that they had received their doctrine from Peter, Paul or John, Irenæus asks the pertinent question: How is it then that the Churches, which are presided over by men representing these great Apostles, are unaware of the teaching you profess to have learned from them? Thus Irenæus records that his master, St. Polycarp, remembered the horror of the Apostle John when he met Cerinthus, one of the earliest Gnostics, and points out that the Roman Church has what the Latin translation of his Third Book calls a *potentior principalitas*, because it has two apostolic founders, Peter and Paul. Irenæus gives a list of the first twelve bishops of Rome down to Eleutherus in his own day. This differs from the other early lists in some slight respects and, with one notable exception, the first eight are practically unknown. But the object of Irenæus made it clear that the succession handed down the true tradition, on which Peter and Paul

were agreed. This testimony of Irenæus, if not the earliest, is perhaps the most important because Irenæus, by his personal experience in Rome, knew that the tradition of the connection of Peter and Paul as joint founders of the Church was already firmly established.

The conspicuous exception to the general obscurity of the early Roman bishops from Linus to Hyginus is Clement, whose prominence in later tradition shows that he must have been highly regarded in his own day.

The only possible document under his name which we can reasonably suppose to belong to his age is the so-called 'First Epistle of Clement.' This at one time had a quasi-scriptural authority; and it appears at the end of the Codex Alexandrinus, one of the oldest manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments.

The Epistle does not profess to be by Clement, nor does his name appear in it. It purports to be from 'the Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth.' Its object is to allay certain differences which were distracting the Corinthian community. It gives no definite indication of date, yet it cannot be earlier than A.D. 75 nor later than 110. The passage important for our purpose is:

'Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. Peter, who because of unrighteous jealousy suffered not one nor two but many trials, and having given his testimony went to the glorious place which was his due. Because of jealousy and strife Paul showed the way to win the prize of endurance. Seven times he was in bonds, he was driven away as an exile, he was a herald both in East and West, he won the noble glory of his faith. He taught righteousness to all the world, and when he

had reached the limit of the West he gave his testimony before rulers, and thus passed from the world and was taken up into the Holy Place, the greatest example of endurance' (1 Clem. v.).

This passage is certainly rhetorical and gives little information. The writer evidently knows little about Peter, and only of Paul by a tradition, possibly based on the Acts or Epistles. If the 'limit of the West' means Spain, it might be supposed from the context that Paul suffered martyrdom there! But the general, and perhaps legitimate inference is that Peter and Paul were believed at the end of the first century to have been martyred at Rome.

Ignatius, the martyr bishop of Antioch, on his way to death at Rome very early in the second century, writes to the Church there: 'I do not command you like Peter and Paul' (Rom. vi.) and this, though often quoted, proves no more than that an Antiochene bishop connects these names together as the most revered in the Roman Church. Writing to Ephesus Ignatius alludes to Paul, says that he was a martyr, but does not mention where (Eph. xii.).

From both Tertullian of Carthage and Origen of Alexandria, we have evidence of the belief that Peter and Paul suffered in Rome; and though these writers only belong to the third century, both visited Rome, and Tertullian was keenly interested in the Church there. They both declare that Paul was beheaded, and Origen adds that Peter was crucified head downwards, at his own request, if we may credit St. Jerome, that he might not presume to imitate his Lord.

The testimony of Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine

deserves careful attention; for, though he lived in the fourth century, he was a diligent collector of ancient material for his history, and had unusual opportunities for accumulating it. Where, therefore, Eusebius is ignorant, one may safely assume that the men of his time were completely in the dark, and also that the writers whom he quotes were silent on the subject. For himself, he mentions the release of Paul from the first captivity; and Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. ii. 22) quotes as his authority 2 Timothy, departing in no respect from what has been said in our previous chapter. As to Paul's death, he declares that it took place under Nero, and quotes 'Caius an ecclesiastical man' (*ecclesiastikos*), who lived in the time of Zephyrinus (Bishop of Rome, 198 - 219). This Caius says that Paul's tomb (or trophy) was on the Ostian Way and Peter's on the Vatican Hill, where the churches built in honour of the two Apostles stand to this day.

It is unnecessary here to dwell more fully on the evidence of the early churchmen; all agree that Peter and Paul worked together in Rome, and were martyred at the same time in the days of Nero – Paul as a Roman citizen, by the executioner's sword, and Peter on the cross. There is no other story to compete with this, and no further details are supplied by any competent authority concerning Paul. No historian, however critical of this evidence, can deny its existence, nor can the most credulous pietist assert that there is any more real information than has been given. Both must admit that it was accepted by the Christian Church, and was not merely the local belief of that of Rome, and can reject it as inadequate or accept it as sufficient.

The association of Peter and Paul is confirmed by

the ancient liturgies. When, at the Eucharist, the greatest saints of old were commemorated, the Twelve Apostles were always mentioned; and Paul was admitted to this company, his name standing next to Peter's at the head of the list. This is found, not only as might be expected in the Roman Liturgy but also in the ancient ones of the remote East.

The testimony of archeology confirms that of literature and prayer. At a very early date gems were cut with the faces of Peter and Paul and have been discovered in Rome: some of these may go back to the second century. From the middle of the third century or even earlier the bodies of the two Apostles were guarded with great care, and removed from their resting places if there was any danger of their being molested. Yet these precious relics do not seem to have been credited with miracles, nor to have been the centre of a cultus. It is certain, however, that the Roman Church claimed to possess them.

Among the Apocryphal Acts there is an 'Acts of Paul' which is quite early. Tertullian, in 210 or earlier, says that he knew the book and that it was by a presbyter who was deposed for forging it. In these Acts, evidently composed about A.D. 160, there is an account of Paul's martyrdom which exists in two Greek copies, an incomplete Latin version, and in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic and Slavonic. It was, therefore, once very popular and widespread. It was read at the commemoration of the Apostle's death.

It will be noticed that the writer was evidently acquainted with Acts and with the Pauline Epistles, a noteworthy fact, as will be seen when we come to discuss this story.

There were, according to these 'Acts,' awaiting Paul at Rome both Luke from Galatia and Titus from Dalmatia. Paul on his arrival hired a grange outside Rome, and with the brethren he taught the truth there, and many of Cæsar's household came and believed with joy.

Patroclus, a cup-bearer of Nero, listened to Paul sitting, like Eutychus, in a window and fell down dead. Paul restored him to life; but not before Nero had heard of his death. Patroclus appeared before the Emperor and declared how Christ had raised him. As he and Nero's chief men confessed Christ, they were imprisoned and ordered to be slain.

Paul is brought before Cæsar, and declares that he and his friends are levying soldiers for Christ throughout the world. If Nero will repent he will be saved; for God will surely fight against this world with fire. Paul is ordered to be beheaded, the rest of the prisoners to be burned.

Then there was a period of respite; and Nero sees Paul once more and confirmed his sentence. Paul says he will appear to Nero after he has been beheaded.

Longus the prefect and Cestus the centurion, deeply touched by Paul's teaching, beg that they may be saved from the fire that God is going to send upon the world. At his execution Paul prayed a long time, and conversed with the fathers in the Hebrew tongue. When the executioner (*speculator*) struck off his head, milk is said to have spurted on the cloak of the soldier. Paul naturally is recorded to have appeared to Nero, who ordered the other prisoners to be released.

The next day Paul is found by Longus and Cestus praying between Luke and Titus. In the end, Luke

and Titus baptize the two Romans, 'giving them the seal.' Meagre and unsatisfactory as the result, not merely of a hasty sketch, but of the profoundest research into information as to the last years of St. Paul must be, one point has not received the attention which I venture to think it deserves.

The main theme in the Acts of the Apostles, when speaking of Paul, is the inveterate malice with which the Jews pursued him. Wherever he went they sought his life, generally by accusing him of being a seditious person, dangerous to the existing government. On all occasions the authorities proved his best friends—Gallio, the Asiarchs at Ephesus, Claudius Lysias at Jerusalem, Felix, Festus, and Agrippa at Cæsarea, all refused to gratify the popular demand for his life. One would expect that the legends which endeavour to supplement the Acts and the Pauline Epistles would have done so by continuing the story of the enmity of the Jews. But they rather take the keynote suggested in Acts xxviii, that with Paul's arrival in Rome the enmity of the Jews for some reason or another cooled down, and that they dropped the prosecution altogether. The legends of both Peter and Paul agree that these great Christian leaders perished at the hands of the heathen; and that the Jews had nothing to do with their fate. They both died, not as renegade Jews but as Christians in whom the Jews took no interest whatever. The matter is not easy to explain and no solution can be afforded, unless that under Nero Christianity was recognized as a new and unlicensed religion, and its professors could not, as in Acts, claim that they were after all only worshipping the God of their fathers.

In Romans Paul had declared his intention of visiting Spain, and Clement 1 says he went 'to the limit of the West,' by which that country is supposed to be meant. But no tradition that I know of connects the evangelization of Spain with St. Paul; this is the more strange as Paul had distinctly told the Romans that he hoped to visit Spain; and, as there was certainly much intercourse between the cities of Asia and those of the peninsula, his desire to go there is not surprising.

The idea that Paul visited Britain cannot be seriously entertained, especially when the condition of the island at the time is considered. For a century after the invasions by Julius Cæsar in B.C. 55-4, the Romans attempted nothing; but, during the principate of Claudius, Aulus Plautius was sent thither in A.D. 42, and the southern Britons accepted the Roman yoke. Claudius himself visited Britain in A.D. 44. Then came the rebellion of Caractacus who was conquered, brought to Rome, and pardoned by Claudius in A.D. 51. In A.D. 62 the intolerable oppression of the conquerors provoked a formidable rising under Boadicea, the injured queen of the Iceni. Under such circumstances the visit of Paul or any missionary of the Apostolic age is well-nigh unthinkable. It is, however, remarkable that there is only one great ancient church outside Rome dedicated to St. Paul alone in the world, and that is in Britain. Not that St. Paul's Cathedral in London was due to any tradition of the Apostle having preached there: still the coincidence is curious and deserves attention.

There is, however, a theory which has at least the merit of ingenuity, that Paul had converts of dis-

tinction in Rome who were connected with Britain. The wife of Aulus Plautius was Pomponia Græcina, who after the death of her friend Julia, the daughter of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, is said to have been distinguished by wearing mourning and by the sadness of her countenance. In A.D. 57 she was accused of 'practising 'foreign superstition,' but Aulus Plautius was allowed to try her before his family, and she was acquitted. It has been supposed that the 'foreign superstition' with which Pomponia was charged was Christianity. Cogidunus, a petty king of Britain who had welcomed the Roman invasion, assumed, according to an inscription discovered in England at Chichester in 1728, the names of Tiberius Claudius. One of Aulus Plautius' ablest officers was named Pudens, and, according to the satirist Martial, married a Briton named Claudia. At the end of 2 Timothy, Pudens, Linus and Claudia send salutations; and it has been asserted that the first and last are those named by Martial and that they became Christians under the influence of Pomponia Græcina. No early tradition confirms this theory.

The alleged friendship and correspondence between Paul and Seneca was believed in in the days of St. Jerome (331) but despite a certain similarity between the Apostle's and Seneca's written sentiments on human rights there are few reasons for accepting the tradition or the letters.

The connection between Peter and Paul is, as has been shown, confirmed by primitive tradition, though practically nothing of the kind is suggested in the New Testament, according to which Peter and Paul did not meet again after their dispute at Antioch

(Gal. ii. 11-14). It is, however, noteworthy that only once according to the best manuscripts does Paul call call the Apostle Peter (Gal. ii. 7, 8), but uses his Aramaic name of Cephas. In Acts Peter plays the part of the leader of the Church, and it was he who first preached the Gospel to a Gentile in the person of Cornelius. After Herod's persecution and the execution of James the brother of John, and the release of Peter from prison, no more is related of him except his speech in favour of the mission of Barnabas and Saul to the Gentiles in Asia Minor and Syria (Acts xv. 7*f*). In the chapters in Acts relating to Paul's subsequent life the name of Peter is not so much as mentioned. According to the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul went to Jerusalem to see Cephas three years after his conversion (Gal. i. 18); the leaders of the Church recognized that the Gospel to the Gentiles had been committed to Paul, whilst Peter was given the circumcision (Gal. ii. 7), and James, Cephas, and John, 'who seemed to be pillars,' gave Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship (Gal. ii. 9). Paul, Barnabas and Cephas then went to Antioch where the vacillation of Cephas drew down the rebuke of Paul (Gal. ii. 11). In 1 Corinthians Paul says that some in the Church claimed to belong to Cephas, from which it is inferred that Peter had visited Corinth (1 Cor. i. 12). Paul also says that Cephas and the brethren of the Lord were accompanied on their missionary journeys by their wives (1 Cor. ix. 5). After this, the name of Peter or Cephas never occurs in any Epistle: not in the salutations in Romans xvi; not even in the Pastoral Letters. In the Second Epistle of Peter, a letter which is almost certainly of the post-apostolic age. Peter says of our

beloved brother Paul that his letters are hard in places to understand (2 Peter iii. 15) – a sentiment in which every student must concur. And this is absolutely all.

Yet the unanimous testimony is that the two great Apostles coöperated in Rome and were martyred there; and it is impossible entirely to disregard the evidence, especially as our knowledge as to their doings is extraordinarily scanty. The strange thing is that Paul always takes the second place, and never was regarded in early days at Rome or elsewhere as of equal importance with Peter. How significant this is will appear here after we discuss and compare the influence of Paul on the mass of mankind with that of his fellow-labourer.

XXI

THE DOCTRINE OF ST. PAUL

In the last chapter the popularity of Paul as an Apostle was shown to be far less than we might reasonably expect; but the influence he exercised upon Christian thought is almost immeasurable. He is, in all probability, the earliest contributor to the New Testament, and we must consider what the rest would have been without him. The Third Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and, it has been generally supposed, the First Epistle of Peter, are the work of men who belonged to his school. In addition to this there are so-called Johannine books. The Fourth Gospel and 1 John emanate from an author, whether John the son of Zebedee or another of his name, who understood Paul even better than some of his most intimate followers.

Before, however, attempting to estimate the influence exercised by the Apostle, it is necessary to undertake the difficult task of stating in a few words what his view of the Person and work of Jesus was; and to do this it is absolutely necessary to clear the mind of all presuppositions, and to fix the attention solely on Paul's actual words, interpreting them with reference to nothing but the circumstances of his life.

The *master motive which dominated all the acts* and words of Paul was devotion to Jesus as his living Lord and Master. To him everything else was subordinate. Other Apostles may have proclaimed Jewish monotheism and the sovereignty of God, the importance of which Paul realized to the full. But his

message in his own words was, 'Jesus Christ and Him crucified' (1 Cor. i. 23), who died, nay rather, is risen (Rom. viii. 34). Realizing the absolute supremacy of the Christ, as the Wisdom and Power of God, Paul saw that His Gospel was intended for the whole world, and he had the insight to perceive that this would not be humanly possible if the Gentiles were allowed to become Jewish proselytes on joining the Church. Thus in Galatians he definitely forbids his converts from Heathenism to accept circumcision. The use of the present participle is significant. Paul is addressing his Gentile converts, not Jews, 'Behold I Paul say unto you that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing' (Gal. v. 2). Nothing can be more explicit than this and it is little wonder that it provoked opposition.

This much, therefore, is clear: Paul was obsessed by his faith in the supreme importance of Christ, and would allow nothing to interpose between Him and the believer; and, in consequence of this conviction, he unflinchingly maintained the principle that the Gentiles must come to Christ – not through Judaism, that is through the Law, but through faith in Him.

These two considerations must never be absent in an endeavour to explain what, wrongly I think, we call the theology of St. Paul. For Paul was not a theologian *in the ordinary sense, if it means a man who after* carefully examining the belief of his age by the light of its Scripture and tradition, explains or reduces it to some formal creed or system. Paul was a prophet, who considered that he had received his mission and his doctrine by direct communion with God through Christ. When he says he received his Gospel not from

man but 'by revelation of Jesus Christ' or 'from the Lord' he means exactly what he says, as much as when he says, 'thus say I, not the Lord' (1 Cor. vii. 12). His convictions, therefore, are not derived from the ancient Scriptures, but they are employed to show that he is supported by their authority. This explains much of Paul's exegesis, and utterly disposes of the theory that his doctrines stand or fall with the arguments he deduces from the Old Testament. His teaching is based on what one may call his prophetic knowledge.

But Paul was a Hebrew prophet, like those of the Old Testament. It is not too much to say that he loved not only his nation but its law, which he accepted as the revelation of God's will, and as such 'holy and just and good.' As Jesus had said, 'Think not that I am come to destroy but to fulfil' (Matt. v. 17), Paul re-echoes His words when he says, 'Do we then make void the law of God through faith? yea we establish the law' (Rom. iii. 31). But, great as was Paul's reverence for the Law, his sense of the necessity of Christ was greater, and when he realized that the Law stood between the Gentile and the full acceptance of Christ, the Law had to be sacrificed.

The two main points of the system as found in the Epistles of St. Paul are, his overwhelming conviction of the importance of Christ, and the problem of explaining why the Law, divine and perfect as he declared it to be, must be rejected by his Gentile converts.

The relation between Paul and Jesus is one of the most striking facts; and is as astonishing as it is undeniable. It is remarkable, as has been indicated, how few allusions there are in the Epistles to the ministry

or even to the character of Christ. Once, it is true, Paul speaks of 'His meekness and gentleness (2 Cor. x. 1), but he does not mention any of His miracles, His acts, or even His words. The important things in Paul's eyes are the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection and the Exaltation to God's right hand. It is the same in all the creeds, the Nicene, the Apostles', and all the different forms they assumed. It matters not whether the creed is put forward by orthodox or Arians: 'Born of the Virgin Mary' is followed by 'suffered under Pontius Pilate.' But care must be taken to avoid pressing the argument of silence. Paul may have known the facts about the Ministry as well as those who framed the creeds. Indeed such casual remarks in the Epistles as that to the Corinthians, 'Be ye imitators of me as I also am of Christ' (1 Cor. xi. 1) are conclusive that Paul knew something of the human life and character of Jesus. Nor could his enthusiasm for his Lord be accounted for unless it rested on more knowledge than that of the facts that He was miraculously raised from the dead, had gone up to heaven, and was about to return speedily in glory. The personal devotion to Jesus, shown in every line the Apostle writes, must have been based on an appreciation of what He had been on earth, and on the realization of the sinlessness of His life and character (2 Cor. v. 21).

To Paul, then, Christ is everything, and his devotion is due to conviction and personal experience. 'Have I not seen Jesus our Lord' (1 Cor. ix. 1). 'I command, yet not I, but the Lord' (1 Cor. vii. 10). 'I live, yet not I: Christ liveth in me' (Gal. ii. 20). He declares that he and all true believers have been baptized into

Christ's death; put on Christ (Gal. iii. 27); have risen with Christ (Col. iii. 1); have the spirit of Christ (Rom. viii. 9). It is impossible to over-estimate the fervour of this language, or to suppose that Paul is speaking of some imaginary creation of his own excited imagination. It is a great mistake in psychology to treat the language of the Apostle in a spirit of rationalism; for he was an enthusiast, who realized the idea of the close relationship in which he stood towards the Master, and a prophet who told to man what he had received from the Lord. Despite his silence as to the ministry of Jesus, Paul evidently knew much of His human life and character. To him 'the imitation of Christ' meant that of the perfect man. This estimate of Jesus is shown in the enumeration of what Paul calls 'the fruit of the Spirit,' as seen in the disposition displayed in a true follower, 'Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith' (Gal. v. 22), in other words, the character of Christ as portrayed in the first three Gospels; and, if the author of the Third Gospel and the Acts was known to Paul, he cannot have been ignorant of the life of Jesus.

Still, Jesus was to Paul far more than a virtuous man or a subject for sentimental idealism. He was the 'power of God and the wisdom of God' (1 Cor. i. 24), the One Being in heaven or earth by which the true knowledge of God is made possible. Paul does not state this as a theological proposition and prove what we call the 'Divinity of Christ' by a carefully thought out chain of reasoning. When he placed Christ 'far above all heavens that He might fill all things' (Eph. iv. 10), he expressed the conviction of all that his Lord meant to him, nor did he attempt to define in theolo-

gical terms the precise relation of the Son to the Father. He was content to believe in God and to desire Him, confessing that all his knowledge had come directly from Christ.

Regarding Christ as of such supreme importance, Paul saw that the Law of Israel would keep the Gentiles in two ways from Christ if they were encouraged to observe it. Naturally, the obligation of becoming a Jew, which meant entering a new community and breaking all ties of family and relationship, would deter *many* Gentiles; but this was not all. Experience and the sound commonsense which Paul for all his enthusiasm naturally possessed, must have shown him that the Gentiles, if they became Jewish proselytes, would be more attracted to the fulfilment of the external precepts of the Law than to the obedience to principles demanded by Christ, and might be thereby deterred from accepting Him as their only Guide and Saviour. It was for this reason that he wrote to the Galatians, 'I Paul say unto you that if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing.'

Thus Paul was confronted by the problem of how he was to persuade the Gentile believers that, so far as they were concerned, the Law, which he considered to be 'holy, just and good,' must be rejected by them, if they were to be whole-hearted disciples of Jesus Christ.

To appeal to them on the ground that the observance of the Law was intolerable, that it was a yoke, described in Peter's speech at the Council at Jerusalem, 'which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear' (Acts xv. 10) would have been worse than useless. To this the answer might well have been, 'Heavy as this yoke is,

if Christ is all you represent Him to be, we are ready to take it upon our shoulders and by His help to bear it. As a Jew you delight in this Law and acknowledge it to be holy, just and good; why then should we, the Gentile servants of Jesus, refuse to obey it?'

Paul, therefore, took a different line. He declared that the Law was not so much burdensome as powerless to save any man from the just wrath of God which had been declared against 'all unrighteousness of men.' What saves is faith in Christ by which God justifies, or accepts us as innocent.

This is the doctrine of 'justification by faith', and it has been a subject of serious misapprehension because it has been supposed that 'justification' or acquittal from guilt, is a sort of legal fiction by which God pardons certain privileged human beings. Works are contrasted with faith: 'works' being confused with character, which Paul is supposed to contrast unfavourably with the merit of accepting certain dogmatic propositions.

This is an absurd travesty of the opinions of Paul, to understand whom it is necessary that we should remember that in his own experience the power of Christ had worked an astonishing miracle, far more unaccountable to him than any physical wonder. The Apostle believed firmly that Jesus, by appearing to him and choosing him to do His work, had changed his entire character and made him 'a new creature.' This was the effect of Christ's work since His coming into the world, the transforming of men by giving them a new spirit, so that they become from henceforth free from sin and acceptable to God. This was Paul's theory based on the conviction of his own experience and considered

by him to be applicable to all who were able in the Spirit 'to call Jesus the Lord' (1 Cor. xii. 3).

Yet his intensely practical good sense prevented Paul from being blinded to actual circumstances by any theory, however plausible. Because his Gentile converts fell very far short of his expectations, he did not relax his pastoral care for them. To use his own words, he called them children, and told them 'I travail in birth again till Christ be formed in you' (Gal. iv. 19). The acceptance of Jesus as the Lord means to Paul the transference of man from the slavery of what he calls 'the flesh' to the freedom of the 'spirit.' It is necessary as far as possible to see what the Apostle means by 'flesh' (*sarx*).

In contemporary thought the contrast between the seen and the unseen was very strongly felt. In Paul's own words 'the things which are seen are temporal but the things which are not seen are eternal' (2 Cor. iv. 18). To the philosopher *reality* was that which the eye cannot see, nor the tongue define, nor the mind comprehend. The visible world was only a shadow of the true universe, which is beyond the human ken. In addition to this speculative disparagement of the seen, there had arisen in the Hellenic world a horror, originating in the thought of the evil of all that can be perceived by the senses. Matter (*hyle*), the material of which the world is composed, was considered an evil thing holding back the unseen spirit of the universe as a jailer. Man was a spiritual being, held in bondage by his material body. Hence the Orphic expression *sôma sêma*, *i.e.*, 'the body is a tomb.'

This line of thought is not Hebrew; and assuredly not that of the Old Testament, but it could not fail

to influence Paul as a Hellenist. Yet here, as usual, his commonsense and Jewish training restrained him from carrying these theories to the point of absurdity. He never uses the word *hyle*, nor teaches that the material is evil, or the body, as such, a tomb; God, though He can only be approached with confidence through Christ, is not abstract but personal; for Paul's interest is, not the same as that of the Gnostics, which was centred in the speculative problem of evil in the world, but the practical one of human sin.

The 'flesh' is, therefore, to Paul, humanity with all its inherent infirmity. Still, though he says, 'I know that in me (that is in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing' (Rom. vii. 18), he does not maintain that man, before he experiences the regenerative influence of Christ, is altogether evil. The Jew, though he could not attain righteousness, still strove after it. Even some heathen, though ignorant, 'did by nature the things of the law' (Rom. ii. 14). As for Paul himself, he delighted in the Law of God in his heart but saw that there was another law in his flesh which prevented him from paying full obedience to the will of God (Rom. vii. 21-23). He does not deny that a perfect fulfilment of the Law might render a man acceptable to God; but as this is not possible; he affirms that the only means of freeing mankind from the bondage of 'the flesh' is through Christ.

The remedy for the condition in which we now are is the transference of reliance on the Law to absolute trust and surrender to Christ which is by Paul implied in the word 'faith.' By this the whole nature of man is changed and he becomes, by means of the Spirit, like Christ in character, in goodness, in the attainment

of immortality. This miracle was wrought by the Incarnation and Death of Christ and proved by His Resurrection. God sent His Son in the 'likeness of the flesh of sin' (Rom. viii. 3), meaning thereby that the flesh, which was borne by the Son of God, is that which in us is the cause of all human weakness and inability to serve God. But the Son, by bearing it in his own Person and by putting it to death upon the cross, conquered sin; and by suffering death killed it so far as He was concerned, not only in Himself, but in all who are united to Him by their acceptance of Him as their Lord. Thus the miracle of a new creation came about in the humanity which Christ had redeemed. A new world came into being, the old has 'passed away and all had become new' (2 Cor. v. 17). The life of this newly-born creation was the Spirit, who, in place of the Law which could not save because it could not be obeyed, became the guide of those who received it. In this way the Law was abrogated for those who had become Christ's; it had served its purpose by acting as the pedagogue or slave who brought children to their school, and as the means of revealing to the world how far it had been alienated from God.

Thus, though in Acts Paul is constantly represented as preaching repentance, this word, and even forgiveness, is rare in the Epistles, and neither are keynotes to Paul's system; for both imply regret for the past and a desire to amend, followed by pardon, whereas Paul declares acceptance of Jesus to be succeeded by an entirely new life in Him, a new creation in which the past is obliterated because the 'flesh' which is the cause of sin has been destroyed.

The argument of Paul to prove that the Law was

not binding on the Gentiles and could not save the believer, Christ being the only One who could do this, like those he adduces in less important matters, brings into relief the deep spirituality of his nature and shows that he was living in a world in which the modern man – Paul would call him 'carnal' or 'fleshly' – can have little understanding or sympathy. It is therefore pitiful to observe the explanations which have been given of his scheme of salvation.

Intimately bound up with all this is Paul's alleged interest in the sacramental system, of which, through his connection or sympathy with the mystery religion of antiquity, he is believed by some to be the originator.

Sacraments are of the highest value to Christian life, as, by the simplest of means, Baptism and the Lord's Supper become a means of grace to the recipients, and serve to keep in constant memory the most important verities of religion. At the same time, if regarded as mechanical, or semi-mechanical means of obtaining divine forgiveness or favour, they are capable of serious abuse. That Paul, with a tendency to underrate the things which are seen, should have offered sacraments as a substitute for the mystery cults to which his Hellenic converts had been accustomed, is wellnigh unthinkable. As regards Baptism, the Christian rite is alluded to in Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians and Colossians, and the doctrine in only three passages: 'Know ye not that as many of us as were baptized unto Christ were baptized unto his death' (Rom. vi. 3), addressed to a Church which Paul had not yet visited, and assuming that the rite and the doctrine were the common property of all believers; 'For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ'

(Gal. iii. 27); and 'Buried with him in baptism, in which ye rose with him through your faith in the energy of God' (Col. ii. 12), the last addressed to a Church where Paul was personally unknown. If this language bears a superficial resemblance to that of the cults of heathenism, it is not that of one who has introduced the rite or its significance, and it is but a shallow foundation on which to build theories of Pauline sacramentarianism.

As to the Eucharist, it is well known that it is not so much as mentioned in any Epistle except 1 Corinthians, and there only on account of the abuses of the rite at Corinth. Like Baptism, this sacrament is assumed to be universal among Christians, as emphasizing their essential unity in Christ.

But if Paul initiated neither of these two great sacraments, he certainly laid great stress on what they signify to him, namely, that in Christ the believer dies and rises to new life and that he is constantly built up by communion with his Lord. This unity, or re-birth in Christ in all believers, is the mainspring of the spiritual and sacramental life of the Apostles.

One more feature of Paul's teaching must receive notice. The vast fabric of predestination and election has been raised upon his Epistle to the Romans. Here again as always we must, if we would understand St. Paul, judge him by the circumstances of his age. The rejection of the Gospel by Israel, and their consequent deprivation of the salvation offered by God was a terrible grief to him. The only solution seemed to be the old prophetic belief that if almost all Israel proved faithless, a remnant would be saved, and that God knew beforehand those to whom He would show mercy.

The matter is to Paul a mystery which causes great sorrow of heart; yet only in one Epistle does he enlarge on the subject. It was no part of his message to the world.

This consideration of the doctrine of Paul brings us to the manner in which it has been interpreted. Few indeed even of the inspired writers of the New Testament really understood him, and hardly anyone as time went on. Yet Paulinism, as it was subsequently understood, became the basis of Christian theology, and a constant stimulant of devotion and thought.

XXII

EARLY INFLUENCE OF PAUL'S TEACHING

Allusion has already been made to Paul's remarkable declaration to the Corinthians that even if he had known Christ after the flesh 'yet now henceforth know we him *no more.' It is necessary here to return to this in order* to determine the relationship not only of the first Three Gospels to Paul, but of Paul to the first Three Gospels.

The great difficulty is the expression 'After the flesh.' The Apostle says that, now he realizes that Christ has died for all, we must live not for ourselves but for Him who died and rose again. Then he continues, 'So that from this time we (does this mean Paul or the believers?) know no man after the flesh, even if we knew Christ after the flesh, but now we know him no more. So that if any man be in Christ, he is a new creation: the old things are past; lo! all have become new' (2 Cor. v. 16 - 19).

May not this very difficult passage be paraphrased somewhat thus: After all these wonders, *i.e.*, the death and resurrection of Christ and the change they have caused, can we estimate any man by our former standard values? Can we even regard Christ's human life as the important thing, now that all is past, and a new creation has come uniting us to Him in His risen condition, and giving us reconciliation with God through him? This explanation is not one we as moderns would agree to; but it is eminently characteristic of Paul's view of the change Christ had wrought. The Synoptic

Gospels reveal an aspect of Christ's life different from that of Paul; and we cannot be sufficiently thankful that the Christian Church has preserved both.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether the first two evangelists had felt the influence of Paul; but it is but natural to expect that Luke would show some traces of the Apostle's teaching. It must be confessed that not many are to be found, though the outlook of the Third Gospel is a wide one, and partakes of the spirit of Paul. But the relation of the Lucan literature (the Gospel and Acts) to Paul is so complicated a question, that no discussion of it which does not enter into an elaborate and careful inquiry into the points at issue is worthy of attention. All that can be here attempted is to record the general impression of the mind of the writer. 'Luke' appears to him to be, on the one hand a compiler, and on the other an historian with a marked personality of his own, as is seen in the use of his authorities; he was probably a personal friend and a great admirer of the Apostle Paul. Undoubtedly he knew the Gospel according to Mark; and it is likely that in writing Acts he translated some Aramaic documents with scrupulous fidelity. But in everything he writes, Luke displays his own individuality. He relates some event of our Lord's life clearly with the language of his authority in his mind, and yet he gives his narrative a stamp of his personality. He rearranges his material in such a way as to bring out his idea of how the story should be told, with a keen eye to dramatic situation. It is the same when dealing with Paul, a man for whose character and achievements he has the highest regard. Still, though at times he shows great skill in trying to adapt Paul's thought and

language, he is not always successful. Possibly, though he knew Paul well, appreciated him, and loved him, Luke never really understood the workings of his friend's mind, and perhaps had not himself read the letters which have come down to us.

From the Lucan writings we pass to a part of the New Testament which bears the name of Paul, but cannot be said with certainty to come from him. First are the Pastoral Epistles, and as far as external testimony goes, no writings of Paul's have greater claim to genuineness. The letters to Timothy and Titus were by no means allowed to fall into the background, but were widely read from the earliest times, and served as manuals on which the law of the Church was based. No list of Paul's writings omits them; nor does any ancient writer question that they are genuinely his. And, as has already been indicated, they contain several personal notices which are unintelligible if something written by Paul has not been incorporated into them.

The interesting point here is that the Pastoral Epistles are evidently, if not by Paul, by someone who was *very anxious to represent his teaching*, but has only partially succeeded in doing so. The argument that the Church organization sketched in them belongs *to a more advanced period of development* has little weight, because Paul had undoubtedly great capacity for putting a Church he had founded on a stable basis, and *legislating for its continuance*. It is where the writer is trying to introduce Pauline doctrine that he gives himself away. To take but a few examples:

'Now we know that the law is good, if a man uses it lawfully, because he knows that a law does not apply

to a righteous man, but to the lawless and unruly . . . and to anything else alien to a healthy doctrine according to the gospel of the glory of the blessed God with which I have been entrusted' (1 Timothy i. 8 - 11).

In Romans the Law is certainly not designed for law-breakers; even with the best intentions a man is unable to keep it perfectly. The passage is Pauline outwardly but scarcely represents the spirit of St. Paul.

Here again is a very beautiful passage; but it is difficult for me at least to think that Paul could speak of 'a crown of righteousness' though the expressions of the rest are studiously Pauline:

'For I am already being poured out (as a drink offering) and the time of my departure is at hand. I have striven a good strife (as in the stadium) I have finished my race, I have kept my faith. For the rest there is stored up for me the crown of righteousness which the Lord will give me in that day, and not me only but to all who have loved his appearing' (2 Timothy iv. 6 - 8).[1]

In Titus there is an even more striking example where the attempt to reproduce the doctrine of Paul is as evident as is the lack of success to do so with exactitude:

'But after the kindness and the love for man of God our Saviour appeared, he saved us, not by works in righteousness which we did, but according to his-

[1] But it must not be forgotten that in I Cor. ix. 25, the Christian athlete strives for 'an incorruptible crown.'

mercy by the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which he poured forth richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that being made righteous by his grace we might become heirs according to hope of everlasting life' (Titus iii. 4 - 7).

The ideas are unquestionably borrowed from Paul, the doctrine is almost the same, and yet the general impression must be that there is something which does not seem natural to the Apostle and arouses the critical faculty. In baptism, it is true, the believer dies with Christ; but does Paul connect it with the gift of the Spirit? There is something formal about the whole which we do not find in the acknowledged Epistles. It is easier to accept the arguments of those who would assign these verses to Paul than to banish the feeling that somehow they are not his. We may add that the conception of faith, and of the work of the Spirit, the guarding of the 'deposit' of faith, the use of the word Saviour, and the lack of emphasis on the personal relation to Christ make the authorship of these letters doubtful.

We pass from the Pastoral Epistles to the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews, a letter or treatise which was far less readily accepted as Paul's. That it is worthy of the great Apostle there is no doubt. In its beauty of language, dignity of expression, and in some of its outbursts of eloquence, it surpasses anything that Paul has written; in elevation of thought it equals the greatest Epistles; and it is little wonder that many claimed it as the work of Paul. But the cultured Christian scholars of Alexandria saw that the language was not his; Origen declared his conviction that God alone

knew who was the author. The conservative Church of Rome knew about the Epistle in the days of Clement – possibly it was addressed to Rome – yet did not claim it as Paul's, and only at a late date accepted it as part of the New Testament. Ancient as well as modern scholars advanced theories as to its authorship. Tertullian in the second or early third century ascribes it to Barnabas. Apollos, Luke, Clement, and Priscilla and Aquila, have all been suggested on more or less plausible grounds. But we may leave the questions of authorship and destination aside, our object being to show *how like*, and *yet how unlike* Paul's teaching, that of the Epistle to the Hebrews really is.

The author of Hebrew treats of the same theme on which Paul lays so much stress: the reason why the Law is superseded by the Gospel. It is quite simple to cull from the Epistle phrases and thoughts to show its connection with the Pauline system, as for example, Christ at the right hand of Majesty is far above all angels (Heb. i. 3, 4; *cf.* Eph. i. 20; Col. i. 16). Christ tastes of death for every man (Heb. ii. 9; Rom. v. 6), an idea very common throughout the Pauline Epistles; but hardly in the sense of Paul's undoubted writings that we are made partakers of Christ (Heb. iii. 14). Those to whom the promise came in the wilderness perished (Heb. iii. 17 - 18; *cf.*, 1 Cor. x. 1 - 5). These examples can be multiplied; but our present concern is how far the Epistle differs from Paul in its treatment of different points of the Christian belief of the first century.

One good reason why the subject of the Law is not handled in the same manner as in Romans and the other Epistles is evidently that the acute stage of Jewish

controversy is a thing of the past; since there is no hint that the Hebrew Christians are trying to persuade their Gentile brethren to observe the Law. On the contrary, the author is doing his utmost to dissuade his Jewish friends, to whom he is probably writing, from going back to their old religion. The Law is no longer 'holy, just and good,' but unnecessary, because it cannot justify or save now Christ has come. It is obsolete, a mere shadow which must not any longer be preferred to the substance. For a Jewish Christian to continue to be a Jew is of the nature of apostasy. The servant of Christ must go forth 'without the camp bearing His shame' (Heb. xiii. 13). Here the author goes far beyond anything Paul has written. Nor is the argument against the Law that of Paul, since it turns not on the impossibility of fulfilling it so as to obtain justification, but on the transitory character of the entire sacrificial system prescribed for the ancient Tabernacle in the wilderness. The general impression, after studying Hebrews, is that it is worthy of Paul, it does not contradict Paul, but somehow it is by one who appreciated but did not fully understand Paul's position. It marks the transition from the Pauline to the Johannine literature.

Before, however, taking the writings bearing the name of John, we must turn to the so-called Apostolic Fathers, Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. These may be later in date, but they represent a far less developed Christianity than that of the Fourth Gospel.

The Epistle of Barnabas follows, though at an almost unmeasurable distance, the argument against Judaism advanced in the Epistle to the Hebrews: that the Law

is to be rejected because it is imperfect. It is in truth a marvel of bad exegesis and perverse ingenuity: the ceremonial Law given to Moses was intended to be regarded as an allegory, which the Jews have gone astray by interpreting literally.

'Barnabas' shows signs of acquaintance with Paul's writings, but none with his spirit; and we need not here trouble about his arguments or his curious and grotesque natural history. It is sufficient to remark that, like Hebrews, this Epistle does not declaim against the Law, but denounces the Old Testament religion generally, which Paul never does.

Far more interesting is the letter of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth (1 Clement). Here the knowledge displayed of Paul's letters is considerable, and several are quoted. Naturally most attention is paid to 1 Corinthians. The most noticeable thing is that in 1 Clement the writer uses Paul much as many now do, recognizing his striking passages rather than penetrating his meaning. Thus he speaks of the faith of Abraham (ch. xiv.), Christ the first fruit of the resurrection (ch. xi.), the body and the members (ch. xx.), the character of charity (ch. xxi.) and the like. In short, 'Clement' knows Paul, but uses him, not for the sake of explaining his system, but for purposes of edification.

In the letters of Ignatius written on his way from Antioch to Rome, where he had been condemned to be exposed to wild beasts, there is every sign that the bishop was a diligent reader of Paul's Epistles, and had caught his mode of expression. 'Those who are of the flesh cannot do the things of the spirit' (Eph. viii.9,). 'Those who do these things after the flesh died' (Eph.

17.2). 'Be changed into the new leaven which is Jesus Christ' (Magnesians iii. 9). 'The assembly of principalities seen and unseen (Trallians i. 19). 'But I am not thereby justified' (Rom. ii. 9). 'Both in flesh and spirit confirmed in love' (Smyrnæans i. 3). It is the same in the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. All this goes to indicate how much Paul was read by the next generation, even though his theology seems to be ignored. To judge by the numerous allusions to them, the Pastoral Epistles were very popular.

The Gospel according to St. John and the First Epistle of John are by some great Christian teacher who neither imitates the language of Paul nor quotes him, and yet must have known and thought much about the teaching we connect with his name.

But before the Johannine cycle of literature began, much – for we have scarcely any evidence and can only go by conjecture – must have happened since the death of Paul. The Epistle to the Hebrews shows that the controversy with Judaism had changed in form. With Paul, the all-important matter was whether the Gentiles should observe the Law. Apparently the Apostle never even suggested that Jewish Christians should shrink from the obligation of doing so; and in fighting for Gentile liberty he had to defend the cause of a minority. In Hebrews the Gentiles had won the day, and it was the religious worship of Judaism that all Christians are called upon to abandon. Ideas respecting the Person and work of Jesus had also undergone considerable development. The hope that He was the Messiah who would almost immediately return, which Paul undoubtedly at one time entertained, was gradually being replaced by the belief that He was the

Lord and Master, from Whom those who believed in Him received constant guidance through His Spirit within them. The natural result was that Jesus became the Divine Lord to His servants, though they could not exactly define His 'Divinity,' nor did they probably attempt to reconcile their adoration of the Son with the monotheism which as Jews they held as an essential truth. Perhaps this was Paul's position, despite his fervent language about Christ the image of the invisible God, far above all principalities and powers, in Whom are all things, the first-born of creation, in Whom all was created (Col. i. 15-20). At any rate, Paul does not allude to Proverbs viii. 22*ff* which speaks of Wisdom as God's assessor at the Creation. For, even in his most fervent moods, Paul was never a speculative theologian. He felt what Christ risen, glorified, and exalted meant to him, but he does not trouble his converts with abstruse questions like that of His pre-existence. The transition from Paul to John is marked by the opening words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Son is identified with the 'Wisdom' of the Old Testament when it is said that 'through Him God made the worlds' (or ages) (Heb. i. 2; but *see* Col. i. 16). When the Fourth Gospel begins with 'In the beginning was the Word' and goes on to say that the 'Word was made flesh,' this lays the foundation of all the later Christology of the Church. But though the language is not Pauline the doctrine is the legitimate outcome of Paul's belief and teaching (*see especially*, Phil. ii. 5-11); Gal. iv. 4; 1 Cor. viii. 6, etc.).

But a new form of error had arisen since Paul's time. The Apostle had been able to dwell almost solely on the exaltation of his Master in the heavenly places;

but now a tendency had been manifested to deny that the Christ had really been man at all, and it had become necessary 'to know Him after the flesh' or to lose Him altogether. Hence the message of 'John' is 'Jesus Christ come in the flesh,' and the apostolic testimony is 'He that was from the beginning, whom we beheld, and our hands actually touched, concerning the word of life' (1 John i. 1, 2) – note, however, that in John the Spirit confesses the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh, and Paul that Jesus is the Lord. It is partly for this reason that John wrote a Gospel, a life of Jesus, highly idealized, it is true, but at the same time insisting on the reality of the Incarnation, mentioning the weariness of Jesus as He sat by the well of Sychar (John iv. 6), and even His thirst on the cross (John xix. 28). This had a very important influence on the subsequent development of Christian doctrine.

As to the view of regeneration John and Paul are substantially in agreement. John says that the entry into the Kingdom of God is only possible after a new birth by 'Water and the spirit' (John iii. 5). A man must be born 'from above'; the difference between flesh and spirit is strongly emphasized. We have found the same doctrine of a new creation in Paul. Another correspondence between the teachings of Paul and John, with however characteristic differences, is the theory that all who have put on Christ are free from sin. 'Everyone,' says John, 'who remaineth in Him doth not sin' (1 John iii. 6); 'Everyone who is born of God doeth not sin, because a seed remains in him, and he cannot sin because he hath been born of God' (1 John iii. 9); with this we may compare Paul's doctrine that when a man is crucified with Christ he has died to sin

and is freed (*lit.* 'justified') from it. Yet Paul, as has been shown, as well as John, recognizes that even Christian men are liable to sin, only John distinguishes between sins which can be pardoned, 'sins not unto death' and sins 'unto death,' and dwells on the power of intercessory prayer for fallen brethren (1 John v. 16 - 17).

The attitude towards Judaism is different in the two literatures – Paul is proud of being a Jew: his attitude to his countrymen, not only as represented in Acts but in his Epistles, notably Romans and Ephesians, is conciliatory; but in John 'the Jews' are the enemies of Christ. This is the more remarkable because 'John,' whoever he may have been, is as obviously a Jew as Paul. Yet already the breach is complete, a man must choose between Judaism and Christianity. One of the severest diatribes of Jesus is addressed 'to the Jews which believed on Him' (John viii. 31*ff.*); and this astonishing description of them can only be accounted for by supposing that the Evangelist had in mind those who accepted Jesus in his day, and yet remained to all intents and purposes Jews. Against these Paul would have uttered no word of reproach, unless they had infringed on the liberty of the Gentile believers in Jesus.

It may be permissible to hazard the suggestion that Paul failed in securing one great object of his life. He had exalted Christ to the highest place in Heaven; he had made Christianity accept the all sufficiency of the Master; he had secured the Gentiles an assured place in the new Kingdom; he had freed them from the yoke of the Law. But he had not kept, as he had so earnestly striven after, Jewish and Gentile believers together.

The Church had parted, despite all his efforts, from the Synagogue, and was becoming if not entirely Hellenic, for a strong Hebraic element was found in it, almost entirely Gentile. The believers of Hebrew ancestry became emphatically Christian; and the followers of James, who acknowledged the Lord Jesus Christ and yet practised the Law, became a sect increasingly obscure, and finally outlawed as heretical.

In the great disputes of the fourth century, regarding the relation of the Son to the Father, the great proofs from the New Testament are taken less from the words of Jesus Himself than from Paul, Hebrews, and John (Col. i. 1 - 14, 15 - 20; Heb. i.; John i. 1 - 18). These passages are the foundation of the accepted and official creed of the Church from the fourth century onwards.

XXIII

INFLUENCE OF PAUL IN LATER HISTORY

When the greater part of what we know as the New Testament was being recognized as the Christian Scriptures, the Epistles of Paul were among the first books to be collected and declared authoritative. They were known '*par excellence*' as 'The Apostle.'

But despite this fact the enemies of Paul were almost as active and bitter as they had been in his lifetime, and if the Catholic Church called him 'the Apostle,' the early sects saw in him the enemy of the true apostles, especially Peter. The ancient believers in Jesus, who had observed the Law whilst accepting Him as the Christ, survived the destruction of Jerusalem but with greatly diminishing importance, falling under the suspicion of the new rabbinical schools of Judaism, and being looked coldly on by the rapidly advancing Gentile Church. As Ebionite Gnostics they began to be ranked as heretics, and they showed their hostility to Paul, whom they regarded as responsible for all their misfortunes. They seem to have found voice for their grievances in a literature circulated under the name of the semi-mythical Clement of Rome, a disciple of Peter and Barnabas. Peter, however, acts under the direction of James, the bishop (?) of Jerusalem, to whom he has to report his missionary progress. But Paul already bore too honoured a name to be openly attacked by any Christians, however opposed to his doctrine, and it has been supposed that he is concealed under the name of the great adversary of Peter, Simon Magus,

whom Peter and John had found among the Samaritans, and had denounced for his impudent attempt to purchase from them the power of imparting the gift of the Spirit.

In the middle of the nineteenth century this gave rise to the famous theory of the school of Tübingen that there were two Churches, a Petrine and a Pauline, and that these agreed in the second century to combine. Suggestive as this idea is, it is not now generally held, depending, as it does, on the view that Acts was written with the object of uniting the two rival Christian parties in one Catholic Church. In the opinion of the present writer Acts was intended primarily to relate the course of events, and designed to be historical rather than apologetic, though naturally the author had views of his own as to what he should tell or omit. The result is a fairly straightforward narrative which, in the absence of all other material except the Pauline Epistles, must be accepted as our only direct historical record.

The Clementine literature, which consists of the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies*, has a long account of a dispute between Peter and Simon at Laodicea in which there are indications that the writer means Simon to be intended for Paul. But the opinions attached are not those of the Apostle but rather of his heretical followers. Still, his knowledge of Jesus through a vision is unfavourably contrasted with Peter's intimacy with Him for a year on earth, and there is little doubt that the author of the *Homilies*, or of the literature from which these are derived, had Paul in his mind.

This obscure indication of antagonism to Paul on the part of the Judaizing heretics is in contrast with the open admiration for his teaching expressed in an ex-

aggerated form by the heretic Marcion of Sinope on the Black Sea. The appearance of Marcion in the second century is a remarkable episode in early Christianity, and though we only know of him by hostile testimony, he must have been a man of no common earnestness of purpose possessed of remarkable critical insight. He made the first serious attempt to understand Paul, and his errors were due to the common practice of pushing the words of a great teacher to their supposed extreme logical conclusion, without regard to the circumstances under which they were uttered. Thus Marcion misinterprets Paul's conciliatory attitude to the Law, that it was imperfect because of man's weakness, by making it so inferior to the Gospel preached by the Apostle that it could not come from the God revealed in Christ. Thus Jesus does not fulfil the Law, but abolishes it. Again the Christ proclaimed by Paul was not the Messiah foretold in the Old Testament, who came as the Son of God 'in the fullness of the time' (Gal. iv. 4), but a Christ sent to save the world by a God of love who was very different from the just though limited God of the Jewish Scriptures. Marcion's mistaken view of what Paul means by 'the flesh' led him into the 'docetic' error of declaring that Christ's appearance on earth was merely fantastic, and denying that He had a human body at all. Yet despite his errors and misconceptions, Marcion caught somewhat of the spirit of Paul, his trust in the love of God, his belief in the value of the things unseen, and his uncompromisingly earnest morality. He was in some sense a Protestant before Protestantism, a critic before the days of modern advanced scholarship, and at least made a serious attempt to penetrate the meaning of the Apostle.

In the East attention was paid to Paul's Christology, the Church being mainly interested in the doctrine of the Trinity, but the less speculative West suddenly tackled the more practical problem of how divine grace saved fallen man. This was mainly due to one of the profoundest theologians the Church has produced, whose influence dominated the Middle Ages and inspired the leaders of the Protestant revolution – St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius in Africa (b. 354; d. 429). In one respect Augustine resembled Paul, that he was converted to Christianity after a severe mental struggle. He therefore, with Paul, believed that God had called him to His service, selecting him from his fellow-men by a miracle of grace. This made both these great men feel the importance of the truth that God called from the human race certain instruments to do the work He required of them, and that the favour He showed to these individuals was due to no merit of their own but to God's good pleasure. For this reason Augustine when he became a Christian, devoted great attention to the teaching of Paul, especially as it affected grace, freewill, human merit and God's foreknowledge.

Augustine was drawn into controversy on these mysterious subjects by the criticisms of two British monks at Rome, Pelagius and Celestius, men highly regarded for their saintly and austere lives, who heard with dismay that Augustine was teaching that man was not a responsible agent but a mere instrument of God's will, and that our actions are determined by the eternal purpose of God. In opposition to this doctrine Pelagius declared that it was in the power of every man to save himself by obeying God, and that, if he chose, he could fulfil the commandments. Augustine, at this

time a bishop in Africa, and the most influential man in the whole Western Church, regarded the teaching of Pelagius as subversive of the entire Christian system by its denial of the need of divine grace. He naturally supported his views by an appeal to St. Paul, dwelling on the natural corruption of all humanity which shared in the fall of Adam and the penalty of his disobedience. Thus all men are born in sin and cannot turn to God except by His special grace. The very infant at the time of birth is subject to the just wrath of God, by reason of his having inherited sin and having been born in it. God in His infinite wisdom has chosen those whom He will save, hence predestination is a part of the system of Augustine, based on his reading of Paul.

The Eastern Church, which had always upheld the primitive belief in the freedom of the will, at first was not disposed to condemn Pelagius and his energetic friend Celestius, but ultimately supported Augustine, though it never troubled itself much about the whole question. But it was otherwise with the West, where Augustine was regarded as the greatest authority among the Fathers. In one form or another the question was constantly being raised, whether we are saved through Christ by obedience to the teaching of the Church, or by divine election. The great reverence in which both Paul and Augustine were held could not settle the dispute; for men felt that the unconditional acceptance of predestination was subversive of morality, although the most uncompromising teachers of the doctrine showed a noble inconsistency not only in the strictness of their lives, but in their works of charity among men. Yet so absorbing was the interest in the

question how and why God saves His elect, that the doctors of Islam, for all its fatalism, were divided upon it.

The next recrudescence of Paulinism appeared in the seventh century in one of the most remarkable movements which powerfully affected the Eastern Church, and ultimately spread its influence westward. The so-called 'Paulician heresy' presents many complicated problems. That it was a heresy is unquestionable in so far that it denied the doctrine of the Church on such fundamental points as the nature of the Incarnation and the Divinity of Christ. What, however, concerns us is how the Paulicians, in their undoubted endeavour to reform the already corrupted Church by returning to primitive conditions and beliefs, turned to the Epistles of Paul.

The founder of the sect was Constantine of Mananalis, who, it is suggested, may have been a Marcionite but if so it is strange that the turning point of his life was a gift of two volumes of the New Testament by a deacon who had been hospitably entertained by him, after having been freed from captivity under the Moslems, in whose territory Constantine lived out of the reach of the intolerant government of Constantinople. Under the influence of his studies of the New Testament Scriptures, Constantine became an active missionary in A.D. 657. He travelled northwards and entered Roman territory in A.D. 684. He had assumed the name of Silvanus, the companion of Paul (but *see also* 1 Peter v. 12) and his sect received the name of Paulicians about this time. Constantine Silvanus was captured and placed before a line of his disciples, who were ordered to stone him to death. All refused

but the traitor Justus, who had been adopted as a son. The place of this martyrdom was long known by the Greek name of *Sorus* = the Heap. Simeon, the prosecuting official, was converted by Constantine's patience, and was himself burned near the scene of his master's death, A.D. 690. The name Paulician was given to the sect by its opponents, and therefore cannot mean 'followers of Paul the Apostle.' Most likely it signified that it was allied to the heresy of Paul of Samosata, a bishop of Antioch who had been condemned in A.D. 269 for declaring that Jesus was a man whose virtue had caused Him to be 'adopted' as God's Son. But as the Paulicians accepted the name, they doubtless considered themselves the followers of St. Paul. Sergius, the second great leader, called himself after Paul's disciple Tychicus.

The Paulicians became a sort of oriental Protestants, foes to the excessive powers of the priesthood, advocates of a simpler form of worship, deniers of the claim of the Virgin Mary to the devotion that was increasingly paid to her. They were subjected to fearful persecutions, and rose in rebellion against the Roman Church and State as represented in Constantinople. It was only after much long and bloody fighting that they were subdued. But their views spread westward, first to Bulgaria, then to North Italy, finally to Southern Gaul, where the warriors of the West suppressed the heresy in the Albigensian War, and the Church rooted out their heresy by the creation of the Inquisition.

The noteworthy point to us is that when this far-reaching protest against the growing sacerdotalism of the Church made its appearance, it was attributed by its opponents to the study of St. Paul, and naturally

to a misapprehension of his meaning. Nevertheless, it is significant how frequently when men have felt the burden of priestly pretensions and desired liberty they have turned to the Apostle of the Gentiles. The powerful influence of St. Augustine made the Church in the West strongly inclined to accept the doctrine of human inability to turn to God, of the need of grace, and also of predestination. This can be easily seen by reading some of the ancient collects still in use. But the Church, by its regularized discipline, and the way in which it encouraged the laity to believe in the claims of its priesthood alone to dispense salvation, had brought about a general belief that if a man satisfied the clergy he would be fortified against the terrors of the future world. This led to serious abuses which were recognized on all sides; and when reformers like Wyclif arose they turned to Paul and made salvation depend on the will of God alone, distinguishing between those whom God had foredetermined to save or punish. Thus the Reformation was in a sense a return to Pauline principles.

There is a superficial resemblance between the Christianity of the sixteenth century and the Judaism in the days of Paul. The complicated scholastic philosophy had its parallel in the traditionalism of the rabbinical schools; the worldly, corrupt and avaricious priesthood of the last days of medievalism had its counterpart in the high priestly clique which ruled at Jerusalem; the innumerable observances, imposed on the laity by the clergy, were not altogether unlike the ceremonial observances of the Christian Judaizers, who, as Paul notes, 'did not themselves keep the Law,' but tried to burden the Gentile converts. Thus when

men desired to break with the corruptions of the past they turned from the Schoolmen to the writings of St. Paul; and not only did a potential 'heretic,' like Luther, but divines as orthodox as the Englishman Colet, began to study and lecture on Paul without the aid of the traditional interpretations. The doctrine that we are saved by faith in Christ alone, on which Luther laid so much emphasis, was by no means peculiar to him; for many who refused to follow him in his revolt against the old Church appreciated its importance. Yet, as has been indicated in our discussion of the Epistle to the Romans, Paul himself foresaw that his doctrine was capable of being made an excuse for lawlessness if misinterpreted, as Luther himself learned by bitter experience. Yet probably no truth was advanced which did more to liberate man from an intolerable imposture, by directing his attention from a venal hierarchy's delusive promises to free him from the penalty of sin, to Christ the sole Mediator. At least Luther's doctrine of salvation by faith alone killed the scandal of the sale of indulgences and opened the way to a mental freedom of which the world had long been deprived.

Calvin, who led the other great wing of the Reformers in attacking the Church, made the predestinarian side of Paul's teaching more conspicuous. It is but just to remember that Calvin's theology is wrongly supposed to be the product of a man naturally narrow and severe. On the contrary, Calvin was, like Paul and Augustine, led to the conclusion that his call had been a miracle for which he could only account by the belief that it was part of the eternal purpose of God. And it is remarkable that the Pauline doctrine on this

deep subject, whether misapprehended or not, has been the means of building up one of the strongest types of Christian character, capable of heroic efforts in the cause of righteousness.

The opponents of the Monastery of Port Royal declared 'Paul begat Augustine, Augustine Calvin, Calvin Arnaud and his brethren.' The so-called Jansenist movement which distracted the Church was a revolt against the alleged defects of the party of the Jesuits, dominant in France. In the end, the Jansenists, who had no connection whatever with the Protestants, were condemned by Rome not so much for their opinions, but because they stood more for personal than for authoritative religion, for the Pauline rather than the Petrine spirit. In more recent times the Evangelical party in England, under entirely different circumstances, has occupied a somewhat similar position.

By a strange irony of Fate, religion as taught by Paul has repeatedly begun as an assertion of liberty, but has usually ended by being hardened into some form of dogmatism. This is, I venture to assert, in part due to the assumption that his Epistles are documents designed for men of every age and under all conditions, and not letters directed to the needs of different little newly founded Christian communities each with difficulties peculiar to itself. In addition to this, despite some obscure passages, Paul's letters have a certain clarity which gives the impression of a logical consistency, more apparent than real. This is heightened by the masterly analysis of some of the letters provided by the great scholars of the past, which has affected both the admirers and detractors of St. Paul. Those

who accept him as inspired, in the usual sense of the word, have seen in his writings a scheme of salvation brought to perfection by a systematic theologian, and have often paid more attention to the arguments by which he supports the great principles he maintained than to the principles themselves. On the other hand, Paul's opponents have seen in him a harsh dogmatist, and have made him responsible for all the conclusions posterity has deduced from his words. Thus it has come to pass that in our day, when a reaction has set in against the excessive dogmatism of the past, Paul has been regarded with increasing disfavour and the value of his work overlooked.

What is needed to restore Paul to his right place in Christian thought is a historical study of his work and writings, viewing both in the light of circumstances of the age. His students are faced with the difficult task of endeavouring to go back to the first century, and to discover under what circumstances he opposed the Judaism of the time. They have to realize the nature of his great struggle with Judaic Christianity in the first days of the Church. They have to place themselves in the position of the Apostle in such a community as the earliest Corinthian Church, to estimate the profound wisdom and large-hearted love with which he faced the problems with which Paul was confronted. They have to try to discover what was the actual mentality of his Galatian converts and his Roman correspondents, and to judge why his arguments are peculiarly applicable to their, if not to our generation.

And by doing this it will become constantly more plain that St. Paul is a man for all time, because he was

essentially the man of his own; that what he accomplished was permanent for the reason that he had no eye for posterity, but did the work before him solely for the sake of those with whom he came in contact. And the more this is realized, the more value Paul will be to our generation. It will become clear that under changing circumstances these are always the same basic principles: that the service of Christ may vary in its form, but will remain the same in essence. And when Paul is approached by this method his spirit will be better understood, and he will not be blamed for the mistakes of others, nor reproached with not having interested himself in what is of interest to us, but did not apply to the circumstances of his day. He will then be recognized as laying down and acting upon principles applicable to all conditions of life. In the end it will, I believe, become evident that Paul was probably the truest Christian the Church has produced and that his life and writings justify what he said of himself: 'But we have the mind of Christ.'

XXIV

A GENERAL ESTIMATE OF PAUL'S WORK

Having attempted to sketch the life of the great Apostle, our final task is to endeavour to estimate its significance. Paul is unquestionably the most outstanding figure in the history of early Christianity, in fact, he is the only personage from the crucifixion till well on into the second century of whom we have any definite information. If we are disposed to think we know something about Peter or John, or James, the Lord's brother, or Clement, it is astonishing how little this amounts to when we investigate the evidence about them. Though in the New Testament there are plenty of persons named, yet these, including Silvanus, Timothy, Titus, Luke and Mark, and even the Twelve Apostles, except Peter, possess little or no individuality.

And how little is known of Paul! Of his early life nothing save that he was a Benjamite, a citizen of Tarsus, the son of a Roman citizen, a Pharisee, who had sat at the feet of Gamaliel at Jerusalem. A very few verses in Acts and the Epistles inform us of his zeal as a persecutor. After the story of his conversion *hardly anything is known of him for years, till he leaves* Antioch on a mission in Cyprus, and afterward in Southern Asia Minor. Even in his missionary career Acts sometimes relates that he stayed months or even years at Corinth, Ephesus and Rome, and leaves us in almost complete ignorance as to his doings there. Finally he abruptly disappears from history; and, as our two preceding chapters have shown, the interest in

his labours and in his teaching is sometimes great, often small, and always intermittent. Yet the study of the character of this great man is most fascinating; and to pursue it without interruption this *Life* has left out all the extraneous matter, which has given so great an attraction to many accounts of the Apostle and has been the special contribution of English scholars to an understanding of his career. I mean the descriptions of the countries he visited, the buildings of the great cities of antiquity, the roads he traversed, the harbours he entered, the political situation of the provinces in which he laboured. For this material it is impossible to be too grateful to the work done by Smith of Jordanhill, Lewin, Conybeare, and Howson, and, above all, by Sir William Ramsay. It has also been considered advisable to pay perhaps inadequate attention to the indefatigable efforts, especially in Germany, France, and America, to discover the sources used in the composition of the Book of Acts, not from any lack of appreciation of their importance, but from a desire to state clearly the estimate of Paul as a man from the documents as they appear in their present form.

As regards the scenery, topography and historical association of the places visited, Paul, so far as the records go, seems to have been entirely indifferent. Not a single hint is dropped that he was in any way affected by the natural beauties of the places he saw. Renan gives in a paragraph of exceptional eloquence a brief description of the works of art which adorned the Acropolis; but when Paul visited Athens, all that is recorded is that he grieved that the city was full of idols.

Yet this 'pitiful little Jew,' to quote Renan, with his

blindness or lack of interest in the beauty of nature or of art, was keenly alive to every movement of humanity. The athletic contests of the Greeks suggested much to him with their severe preparatory training, and the men's determination, not merely to display their powers as boxers or runners, but to win the contest. In the same spirit he may have watched the troop of initiates going to Eleusis. It may be said that the Apostle was interested in mankind, not in nature nor in art, and he was evidently capable of uncommon sympathy and friendship. His converts, his disciples, his coadjutors, enjoyed both his solicitude and his affection. Paul evidently appreciated the society of his friends, and could not bear to be left alone, showing himself thoroughly human in this respect.

It has often been debated whether Paul was married, but nothing whatever has been told us of his family life. It is generally assumed to-day that he was inexorably opposed to women taking part in the work of the Church. As regards Corinth, the only place where he dwells at length on this topic, he certainly was, as has been indicated, opposed to what at the time were feminine eccentricities, like appearing unveiled in the Christian assemblies contrary to what was at the time considered decorous (1 Cor. xi. 2 - 16), nor did he permit women to speak in the very disorderly Church assemblies (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35). It would be unreasonable to expect that he should have advocated the modern woman's claim to be completely equal to man.

But the words which have given so much offence are 'In the same manner women are to be decently dressed, and are to adorn themselves with modesty and sensibly, not with plaited hair and gold, and pearls and expen-

sive clothes, but as women who profess religion with good works. 'Let a woman learn in silence in all obedience: but I will not allow woman to teach (in public) nor to domineer over the men, for Adam was made first and then Eve, etc' (1 Tim. ii. 9 - 15). Though, however, these sentiments are Scriptural, it is highly probable that they emanate, not from Paul, but from the author or editor of the Pastoral Epistles.[1]

In contrast to the words written by or attributed to Paul it is only right to remember that no evangelist made more use of female ministrations or appreciated them more highly. In fact, many women, evidently of wealth and position, supported the Christian movement. At Philippi there was Lydia, the hospitable hostess of Paul and his company; the household of Chloe, presumably herself a believer, reported the state of affairs at Corinth to Paul in Ephesus. Priscilla, usually mentioned before her husband Aquila, was a constant friend often spoken of, and the 'deaconess' Phœbe of the Church of Cenchræ is recommended to the Romans in the highest terms. Lastly, there are the women mentioned in the salutations of Romans xvi, – especially the beautiful one to Rufus 'the chosen of the Lord and his mother and mine' (Rom. xvi. 13).

Paul fully recognizes in his later Epistles the importance of the family in Christian life. The household consists of the husband, wife, children, and slaves. His advice in regard to children is in a different tone from that adopted by the average Jew. Jesus, the son of Sirach, for example, advises severity and recommends chastisement as a sovereign remedy. 'He that loveth his son, causeth him often to feel the rod. . . . He

[1] See the Appendix.

that chastiseth his son shall have joy in him . . . cocker thy child and he shall make thee afraid; play with him and he will bring thee to heaviness. . . . Bow down his neck whilst he is young, and beat him on the sides when he is a child' (Eccles. xxx. 1-12). How different is Paul's advice. 'Fathers, provoke not your children to anger (*i.e.*; avoid constantly irritating them) lest they be discouraged' (Col. iii. 21). As a husband a man should cherish and love his wife and as a master be just in dealing with his slaves. This interest shown in human life helps us to understand the amazing versatility of Paul. He describes his own character accurately when he tells the Corinthians that he became 'all things to all men if by any means he might rescue some' (1 Cor. ix. 22). He possessed a singular gift of adaptability and the power of making friends of men of all creeds and ranks of life. His natural politeness is conspicuous on every occasion and shines forth in his letters. Only rarely, for Paul was by disposition irritable and impulsive, does he depart from his wonted courtesy. One must admire his readiness of mind, and his resourcefulness in times of trial and danger, whether in the midst of an angry mob or on the deck of a ship about to founder, or in the presence of provincial governors and native sovereigns.

The same quality appears in his writings. Paul has repeatedly been reproached with the rudeness of his constructions, the occasional clumsiness of his sentences, his barbarous Greek generally. His critics have undoubtedly erred on the side of severity; for his letters bear the stamp of good literature in their essential qualities. No one Epistle is exactly like another. Even

when two treat of the same topic, like Colossians and Ephesians, they do so in a different manner. The discussion of the Law in Galatians and Romans is adapted to the circumstances of those to whom the letters are addressed. And no one can charge any letter of the Apostle's with the most serious fault of dullness. Paul is always interesting and constantly uses phrases which have stood the test of time, and have become the commonplaces of all subsequent literature. Everything he says, writes, or does, testifies to the vitality of Paul, and, like some others who have accomplished great things, he did his work amid the drawbacks of bad health. Whatever his 'thorn in the flesh' may have been it certainly rendered him at times incapable of exertion, and may account for some of the gaps in his career to which it has been necessary to draw attention. Yet when the conditions of travel and of the countries traversed by Paul are taken into account, he must have had a wonderful reserve of strength to endure them in addition to the perils of persecution which he underwent. His whole career was a triumph of mind over matter, due to his intense conviction, and the enthusiasm by which he was animated.

Convinced as Paul was that the end was near, and that Christ might at any moment appear in glory, he could not rest till he had proclaimed Him in every place. He declared that he would not go where other apostles had preached, but to places which had hitherto been outside the sphere of other men's labours. He only broke this resolution when compelled to go to Rome, and evidently felt that the importance of the Christian community in the imperial city outweighed

all other considerations. But it is highly probable that his active missionary life ended with his arrest in Jerusalem.

With all his belief in the nearness of the second coming of his Lord, Paul, despite all that has been said to the contrary, says but little of what is to happen in the last days. It must have seemed to him of little importance considering his belief that those who accepted Christ had already, by union with Him, entered wholly into His new creation. It is remarkable that only once is the Book of Daniel quoted by him, in the very difficult passage about the appearance of the 'Lawless One' (II Thess. ii. 3; Dan. vii. 25). Nor does he show any literary dependence upon any non-canonical apocalypse, even the Similitudes of Enoch. In fact, except for I Cor. xv., and I Thess. iv., Paul says little about eschatology. Indeed it has been truly said that to him 'the past coming of Christ is the supreme crisis in the world's history.' He indulges in no descriptive visions of a Heaven, though he undoubtedly had some experience of them. His words in II Corinthians xii. 2*ff*. are very instructive. He says there that, whether in the body or out of the body, fourteen years before he had been caught up to the third heaven, to the Paradise, and heard words which it was not lawful for man to speak. But he would not glory in his revelation because he wanted his converts to judge him by his conduct to them, and not as a man who had enjoyed exceptional spiritual advantages. Here a flood of light is thrown on the character of the Apostle; on the one hand he appears as an enthusiastic visionary, but on the other a man whose practical desire for the welfare of his converts prevents him from dilating to them on

the revelation he had received. Let his converts judge him by what they see and know, and decide by their experience of his character the justice of the charges brought against him. The noble reticence of Paul is the most remarkable feature in this passage.

Barnabas and Paul appear from the first to have agreed to take nothing from their converts for their labours among them. It may be inferred from Acts iv. 37 that Barnabas had means of his own; and it is probable that Paul had. But there is no doubt that their resolutions made them from time to time undergo considerable privation. Throughout his ministry Paul declares that he never departed from his principle of self-maintenance except under great pressure, when he accepted aid only from his most favoured converts. How he maintained himself we do not exactly know, but it would appear from hints he lets fall that the labour was arduous to him, and it is possible that both he and Barnabas belonged to a class in the community for whom – if they had, as Jews, learned a particular trade – it would not under ordinary circumstances have been necessary to practise it.

The attitude of the Apostle to his Gentile converts is profoundly interesting. He realized to the full the immense moral gap they had to cross before they could become members of the true Israel, called into being in the Church of Christ. This is brought out particularly in the letter to the Ephesians in which, being a circular Epistle addressed probably to many Churches in Asia Minor, Paul could speak fully to the Gentiles generally, and not to a small community of them.

Before Christ came the Gentiles were dead in their

sins, subject to the devil, the prince of those spirits or demons of which they and other men ('we all') were in constant fear. As they were the slaves of all the baser impulses of the flesh they were justly subject to God's wrath. Nevertheless God has shown mercy on them, and actually exalted them to sit in the heavenly places. Yet they must never forget that they were once aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, in whose promises they could have no share. They had been indeed utterly without God or hope. In Christ, however, the barrier between the true Israel and the redeemed Gentiles, the 'middle wall of partition' has been broken down and all are one in Christ (Eph. ii. and Rom. ix.) That the Gentiles should share in the inheritance of Israel is to Paul, even near the close of his career, a mystery, disclosed to him by God Himself, so wonderful that he can hardly yet credit it, were not the knowledge conferred on him by God's special grace (Eph. iii. 1-12),

Comparing this with what is said in Romans, we cannot but infer that Paul most fully recognized the natural superiority of the Jew to the Gentile, and can appreciate the sorrow he felt at the refusal of his own countrymen to hear his message of salvation. It was always a source of wonder to him that the Jews, whom he regarded as so infinitely nearer God than the Gentile world, should decline to listen to him, whilst the heathen eagerly, for all their moral inferiority, embraced his message. He can only account for this as part of the divine plan of the government of the world, which seemed to him to point to the gathering in of the elect Gentile world first, followed by the perfecting of God's work by the return of His Own People. In the mind of Paul, Israel always had the first place. Apostle of

the Gentiles as he was, it was always his custom first to announce his Gospel to his own people.

The admission of the Gentiles was an astonishing manifestation of the power of Christ, and nothing in Paul's life and writings can compare in importance to his attitude to his Master. One of the most disappointing features in the writings of the 'Fathers' of the Christian Church is that it is by no means easy to find love for Jesus Christ as fully emphasized as we might expect. Even if it is implicit, it is rarely expressed. But Paul is entirely different. True, as a Jew he never forgets that God is One, and that when the work of the Christ is accomplished it will make God 'all in all.'

Not that Paul is an unique figure in the New Testament in his devotion to Christ: it is conspicuous throughout the Christian Scriptures, in the first two Gospels, in the Lucan, Petrine and Johannine literature. Even the Epistle of James, the most Judaic book in the sacred canon, reechoes the Sermon on the Mount, adopts the simple imagery of the teaching of the Master in Galilee, and describes its religion as "the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.' But this is certainly not the leading note of 'patristic' literature, and the argument from its comparative silence may be adduced to show that the Christianity of the early Church was not precisely that of the sacred canon which it recognized as its authority.

Paul, however, is too great a character to be dismissed in a short summary, and indeed all that can be written even at length must prove inadequate. But two questions have to be answered before we close this sketch.

The first is: Was Paul the real founder of Chris-

tinnity? or, to put it otherwise, would the faith in Christ have overspread the world without him? From what has already been said here the answer must be an emphatic negative to the first, and an affirmative to the other. True, Paul is the only missionary of whose labours we know anything definite, yet from his own testimony there were many others – the brethren of the Lord, Cephas, Barnabas, the companions and also the rivals of Paul himself, who were eagerly spreading the Gospel. At Rome, at any rate, there was a Christian community long before he wrote his Epistle, or visited the imperial city. In the days of darkness in which we know of the Christian Church only by the vaguest of traditions, the work was going on; and when we emerge into the light of history once more we find in Egypt, in Africa, in Gaul, in places Paul certainly never reached, influential and firmly rooted churches of Christ. Nor were Paul's churches as a rule *destined to enjoy early prominence*. Cut off as he was from active work by his imprisonment at Cæsarea in Palestine, as early as A.D. 58 and perhaps even earlier his churches may well have fallen into comparative obscurity. But it is idle to indulge in speculations of what might have happened had Paul never lived, but that the Gospel preaching would have gone on without the mighty energy he devoted to it seems undoubted.

The second is: Was Paul greater than Jesus? and startling as the question is, it is too often put to be thrust aside. If Jesus was all Paul acknowledged Him to be, the answer is obvious. It does not even matter in what sense he called Him 'Lord' or what view he held of what we call 'His Divinity.' Paul felt that compared to Jesus Christ he was less than nothing,

and that he himself was a mere instrument in His hand to carry out His will and purpose.

But if no more is assumed than the common modern claim that Jesus was no more than an unique personality, Who after a brief mission in Galilee, during which he declared many beautiful truths, was crucified by the enmity of the Jews; was not His simple life overshadowed by the stupendous labours of a disciple who had probably never so much as seen Him? But the voice of centuries of history and human experience plainly denies this. Christianity never has been, nor can be, what is usually called Paulinism, for all the attractive features of the system; and even though at times the teaching of Paul has been studied to the exclusion of most of the rest of the New Testament, its influence in the many centuries of the Church's life has been but intermittent. But at no time has it been possible to ignore Jesus, even by those who deny Him the obedience which His Church demands, and refuse to see in Him the Saviour of the world. Christianity stands or falls with Jesus. It is profoundly untrue to say that Paul made Jesus, or even gave Him an importance He would not otherwise have had. It is a literal fact that Jesus made Paul, and the greatness of the disciple is one of the chief miracles wrought by the Master.

APPENDIX

THE ATTITUDE OF ST. PAUL TOWARDS HIS FEMALE CONVERTS

A Paul has been severely criticized for his remarks regarding the position of women in the Church, it may not be out of place here, even at the risk of some repetition, to discuss this question more fully than in the body of this work.

It must be premised that the Apostle lived in a society different in many respects from our own, and that it was not his policy nor that of the Christian Church to advocate views which would entirely disrupt existing human relationships. Only where Christian principles were absolutely at variance with the existing order – as regards, for example, idolatry, impurity, and infanticide – did the Church take a firm stand. As to the family, and the relation of master to slave, it was content to accept existing conditions, and to enjoin its adherents to be kinder and more considerate as husbands, less exacting as parents, and more merciful as masters than in the world around.

Bearing this in mind it is necessary to consider the position of woman in the days of St. Paul in Jewish, Greek and Roman society.

Among the ancient Israelites woman had early attained a high position in the tribe or family, of which the father and mother, and not the father only, were the acknowledged leaders. Of the three deliverers from the bondage in Egypt, Moses, Aaron and Miriam, one was a woman. Among the Judges Deborah takes a distinguished place. The model Hebrew wife in the

beautiful acrostic poem at the end of the Proverbs, the woman of 'virtue,' or 'might,' rules the household and increases her husband's wealth. Women played an heroic part in the Maccabean struggle, and Alexandra, one of the greatest of that royal dynasty, ruled wisely and prudently. Yet in rabbinic theology woman's inferiority was recognized as a matter of course, and the Disciples of Jesus marvelled that the Master 'talked so long with the woman' of Samaria at Sychar (John iv. 27). Moreover the Jewish wife was expected above all things to maintain proper decorum in conduct.

In Greece the free-born wife was rarely allowed to transgress the limits of the household, or to mingle in public affairs. Those who exerted influence over men as their companions, were not as a rule their legitimate spouses, whose sphere was confined to the household, and the modern oriental idea of secluding the wife seems to have been widely prevalent.

The ideal Roman matron was undoubtedly a great power in the family, but her subjection to her husband was unquestionable. She often proved capable of heroic virtue, but the highest praise of a noble wife was 'She abode in her home, and spun the wool.' Everywhere in fact the provinces of the two sexes were distinct, and domesticity was expected of the female.

Yet in the times of Paul, when national, and also family ties, were being dissolved, there was a tendency towards what is now called 'the emancipation of woman' and this was especially noticeable in the matter of religion. The new worships of Cybele, Isis and Dionysius, had an especial attraction for the sex,

and Judaism recruited from it the most enthusiastic proselytes.

That the women mentioned in Acts i. 14, together with the Twelve and the Mother of Jesus and His brethren, played an important part in the diffusion of the Gospel cannot be questioned, and that the missionary work of Paul owed much to female assistance has already been indicated. Moreover the Apostle declares his belief that 'in Christ' all distinction of sex as well as of race have been done away, and consequently there is no room in his system for the alleged inferiority of woman to man.

Nevertheless there are undoubtedly certain words of Paul expressly limiting the functions of women, which need careful consideration, of which the most important are to be found in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

There is the curious passage in xi. 13-15. It was evidently becoming the practice at Corinth for the Christian women to forsake the practice of covering the head when they went abroad and to appear unveiled in the Church assemblies. This the Apostle condemns, and his arguments to prove that the custom was unseemly appear to disparage the position of the wife towards the husband. They are very difficult to understand or appreciate; and it is far easier to see why Paul forbids women to come uncovered to worship, than to accept the reasons he alleges.

The head of every man is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Therefore a man dishonours his head by covering it when he prays or prophesies in God's presence. The woman on the contrary ought to cover her head when praying or prophesying (note that here Paul permits her to speak in the spirit in public)

because man is in the image and glory of God, and woman is the glory of man. In fact man was not created for woman, but woman for man.

The object of this appeal to Scripture is to convince the Apostle's female correspondents, not of their necessary inferiority to man, but of the desirability of observing proper modesty when they attended public worship. The argument that a custom which the Apostle regarded as unseemly should be discontinued is enforced by Scriptural authority and is thoroughly rabbinic.

The character of the city of Corinth and of the little Christian community Paul had established there deserves careful attention.

Despite of its standing on an ancient ~~site, and~~ bearing the name recalling the antique glories of Greece, Corinth was a comparatively new city. It had been completely destroyed by the Roman Consul Mummius in B.C. 146, and after lying desolate for a century was restored by Julius Cæsar and re-peopled by him. In St. Paul's day it was prosperous, with a mixed population and a constant influx of foreigners, out of which he had built up a small congregation, mainly composed of Gentiles, which, when he wrote, had only been a year or so in existence. No wonder then that the Apostle was very sensitive to the least symptom of laxity among his female converts.

When we reach the fourteenth chapter, we find that the worship of the Church was becoming orgiastic. Nor is this to be wondered at. We saw how in 1 Cor. xi. the Eucharist tended to degenerate into a disorderly meal, and it was natural that people unaccustomed to the restrained ritual of the synagogue should when

left to themselves, give way to spiritual excitement, and that their worship, with the language of Judaism and Christianity, should exhibit the frantic character of pagan devotion. When many were 'speaking with tongues and prophesying simultaneously,' Paul says that a stranger entering the assembly might think they were indulging in the ravings of possessed pagans; and as women were, we know, specially subject to similar outbursts of enthusiasm in the worship of Cybele, to cite but a single instance, no wonder the Apostle sternly enjoined them to keep silence, and to consult with their husbands privately (xiv. 34, 35).'

Passing over the injunctions to wives to submit themselves to their husbands in Colossians iii. 18 and Ephesians v. 24, and to the comparison of Christ as the spouse and the Church as His bride, taken from the Old Testament and rabbinical descriptions of the relation of God to Israel, we reach the much controverted passage in 1 Timothy:

'I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting. In like manner that women adorn themselves in modest apparel . . . But (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works. Let a woman learn in subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence, etc., etc.' (1 Tim. ii. 8-12).

It has been indicated that the Pastoral Epistles – 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus – may not be the genuine work of Paul, though they certainly belong to his generation or to one very little later. They are in the

category of the books of Church Order, so common at a later period. But even if we grant that they express the mind of Paul, one has only to read a little further to see how active was the ministry of women in the primitive Church. A candidate for a widow's pension had not only to be an old and desolate woman, but to have proved herself a zealous Church worker in her younger days; she must have brought up children (perhaps those exposed to death by their heathen parents) exercised hospitality to strangers, received Christian visitors with honour, relieved the afflicted, and diligently devoted herself to good works (1 Tim. v. 10). The later books of Church Order assign a high place to the deaconess, who stood in the same relation to the women as the deacon (a very important official) to the men, and actually in one instance there is a comparison of the bishop to the Father, of the deacon to the Son, and of the deaconess to the Holy Spirit. Without women's help Christianity could never have penetrated into the secluded households of the Mediterranean seaboard, and we have but to read the list of those whom Paul salutes in his Epistles to see the absurdity of accusing him of a narrow prejudice against employing the help of woman in the furtherance of the Gospel. Lydia, Phœbe, Priscilla and many others rise up to protest against such a distortion of the Apostle's motives.

But to understand his attitude aright here and elsewhere we must seek his meaning not in the light of modern controversy, but by the knowledge of the conditions of the world in which Paul lived and wrote.

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